Development and Initial Validation of the Asian American Racial Microaggressions Scale (AARMS): Exploring Asian American Experience with Racial Microaggressions

Annie I-Chun Lin

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy under the Executive Committee of

The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

Columbia University

2011

ABSTRACT

Development and Initial Validation of

the Asian American Racial Microaggressions Scale (AARMS):

Exploring Asian American Experience with Racial Microaggressions

Annie I-Chun Lin

This dissertation study focuses on constructing a scale measuring the Asian American experience of racial microaggressions, a contemporary form of prejudice and discrimination. The paucity of research on racial microaggressions, its suitability in capturing the contemporary Asian American experience of racism, and the need for an instrument quantifying this experience are discussed. To develop a quantitative measure on racial microaggressions directed against Asian Americans, a four-step process is proposed: pilot study, exploratory factor analysis, validity analysis, and test-retest reliability analysis. Results, limitations, and implications of the dissertation study are discussed. Suggestions for future research are also given.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

It would have been impossible to conceptualize this dissertation project without the seminal work of my predecessors in the areas of racism and Asian American Psychology. Similarly, with this dissertation, I am honoring the early Asian pioneers who suffered injustice and paved the way for Asian Americans to enjoy a semblance of equality today. I am also deeply grateful to my advisor, Derald Wing Sue, whose guidance, supervision and support enabled me to begin and complete this dissertation. Additionally, I am thankful to all of those who supported me in any respect during the completion of this project, including New York Community Trust. Last but not least, I owe my deepest gratitude to my beloved husband: I never could have done any of this without you because you make the impossible possible.

Chapter I: Introduction

Over the past few decades, racial issues have been at the center of many current events. Slavery, racial segregation, and denial of social and legal rights also provide undeniable historical evidence that Black/African Americans in the United States have been treated unfairly because of their skin color (Fireside, 2004; Griffin, 1996). For example, enslavement and Jim Crow laws have been well-known practices and regulations instituted on the basis of skin color, having effectively oppressed and marginalized Black Americans. For the purposes of including Black Americans who do not have African ancestry, the term "Black" or Black Americans will be used in this dissertation. As a result, many Americans still perceive racial issues in black and white terms and remain unaware of the existence of racism toward other populations of color (Hune, 1995). One of the most severely neglected racial groups in racial discussions is Asian American (Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004). Despite their long history of racial and ethnic oppression in the United States, Asian Americans are still frequently left out of racial discussions (Hune & Chan, 1997). For the purpose of this dissertation, the broad and inherently diversified category of "Asian American" will be loosely defined as the following: A U.S. citizen or resident of Asian descent who self-identifies as "Asian American."

Asian Americans

One of the common misperception of Asian Americans is that they are "model minorities": privileged racial minorities who have attained the American dream (S. Sue, 1999), and therefore, experience little discrimination (Bell, 1985; Young & Takeguchi, 1998). According to scholars and researchers of racism, the model minority stereotype has made considerable contribution to the lack of attention to racism against Asian Americans, mainly through a propaganda that Asian Americans are able to function and excel in American society

(Hune & Chan, 1997; Min, 1995). Creating a stark contrast to the misfortunes of other minority groups (Huhr & Kim, 1989; Min, 1995, Takagi, 1992), the myth that Asian Americans do not encounter racism is pervasive. Indeed, Americans are skeptical that racism is a part of the Asian American experience (Asamen & Berry, 1987). This misinformed stereotype about Asian Americans provokes feelings of resentment in other racial minorities because it infers that any American who is not measuring up against Asian Americans must not be working hard enough (Takaki, 1989).

Stereotypes. Stereotypes have been found to be a good predictor of racism (Banaji & Dasgupta; 1998; Banaji & Greenwald, 1991) since implicit attitudes appear to be better predictors of discrimination than explicitly reported racial attitudes (Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009). Therefore, many have asserted that cultural stereotypes are at the root of discrimination (Jones, 1997; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1986). Analysis of cultural stereotypes of a particular racial group may shed light on the nature of discrimination (Banaji & Dasgupta; 1998; Banaji & Greenwald, 1991).

Scholarship on prejudice and discrimination also highlight the importance of examining stereotypes (Jones, 1997). Social psychologists involved in examining prejudice and racial bias suggested that having knowledge and awareness of possessing bias and its sources of influence would help to minimize its occurrence, as "metacognitive correction processes are often engaged in the presence of awareness of perceived bias" (Banaji & Dasgupta, 1998, p.161). Some of the more pervasive Asian stereotypes documented in the literature include: model minority, second-class citizen, perpetual foreigner, all Asians are alike, invisibility, and sexualization of Asian women (Lin, 2010). Many well-known racial incidents involving Asian American victims correspond to common Asian stereotypes. For example, Vincent Chin, a Chinese American, was

murdered because he was mistaken for a Japanese individual (i.e., all Asians are alike stereotype). The accusation against Wen Ho Lee as a spy for the Chinese government portrays the perpetual foreigner stereotype. There appears to be a consistent link between stereotypes and prejudicial (implicit) attitudes, which in turn, leads to discriminatory behaviors.

Documented racism. History of Asians in America since the 15th Century has been fraught with overt racism and racial injustice (Young & Takeuchi, 1998). Despite the lack of documentation in American history books, Asian Americans have long been targets of societal and governmental actions resulting in the denial of basic human rights (Sandhu, 1997; Young & Takeuchi, 1998). For example, federal, state, and local legislative measures were taken against early Asian immigrants in restricting their movements, forbidding them to own or lease land, and refusing to grant legal and marriage rights (Sandhu, 1997). Despite hard work and willingness to accommodate to the new world that they have inadvertently entered, Asian immigrants were subjected to racism, from substandard working conditions, lower salary scales, and unfair treatment in the workplace to social stigmatization, anti-Asian harassment, lynchings, and mass murders (Chan, 1991; Okihiro, 1994; Takaki, 1989).

Unfortunately, discrimination against Asian Americans is not a thing of the past. According to the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium (2002), assault, explicit threat and blatant intimidation against Asians have increased in recent years and particularly since September 11, 2001 . Aside from overt hate crimes, Asians also report experiencing subtle types of discrimination (Asamen & Berry, 1987; D.W. Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007).

Contemporary Racism

Subtle racism. Existing literature suggests that contemporary prejudice against Asians is highly covert in nature (Asamen & Berry, 1987; D.W. Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007). Researchers have studied how racism has evolved from a more overt form into a subtler form. Some of the conceptualizations include symbolic racism (Sears, 1988), modern racism (McConahay, 1986), aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), and racial microaggressions (D.W. Sue, 2003; Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis, 1978; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Essed (1991) has also described this subtle, recurrent form of discrimination in the everyday lives of racial minorities as being given poor service, and being treated with less courtesy and respect in public places. According to D.W. Sue (2003), these daily incidents are "many times over more problematic, damaging, and injurious to persons of color than overt racist acts" (p.48). Moreover, Asian Americans may be more impacted by this new form of discrimination as they are trained to be more sensitive to their social and communication contexts (Leets, 2003). One of the more poignant conceptualizations of this frequent discrimination against Asian Americans is the construct of racial microaggressions.

Racial microaggressions. Racial microaggressions has generally been defined as verbal, nonverbal, and/or visual insults directed toward people of color in a subtle, automatic, or unconscious way, often with startling impact (D.W. Sue, 2003). Though the construct of racial microaggression was developed to describe the contemporary covert form of racism that all people of color encounter, qualitative differences may exist between the racial microaggressions experienced by different racial groups (D.W. Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007; D.W. Sue, Nadal, et al., 2008). Given the subtle nature of racial microaggressions and the covert quality that Asian Americans experience racism (Tuan, 1998), the notion of racial microaggressions seems appropriate and useful in understanding the Asian American experience with contemporary

prejudice and discrimination. Although the theoretical literature suggests that racial microaggressions is appropriate in describing contemporary racial experiences of Asian Americans, there is little empirical evidence surrounding this topic. In fact, there is no measure to date that adequately captures the Asian American experience of racial microaggressions. The development of an instrument measuring racial microaggressions against Asian Americans is particularly important in order to give voice to Asian Americans, who are often neglected in racial discussions. Moreover, the development of such an instrument would allow for further investigation into the construct of racial microaggressions and elucidate the subtle nature of contemporary racism against Asian Americans.

Overview of Dissertation

The study will focus on developing a psychometric measure of racial microaggressions for Asian Americans, termed "Asian American Racial Microaggressions Scale" (AARMS). As a contemporary racism conceptualization that is subtle in nature, racial microaggressions was specifically chosen for its potential compatibility with this population. A review of narrative literature suggests that Asian Americans tend to encounter subtler forms of racism (Tuan, 1998), especially compared to other racial minority groups in the United States. In addition, the limited research on racial microaggressions against Asian Americans concurs with most of the pervasive Asian stereotypes in American society (Lin, 2010).

The purpose of this dissertation is to construct an instrument measuring racial microaggressions encountered by Asian Americans, with the aims of: (a) constructing a systematic way of measuring racial microaggression toward Asian Americans, (b) testing the concept of racial microaggression, (c) further developing the construct of racial

microaggressions, and (d) bringing awareness regarding modern day racial discrimination against Asian Americans.

The first chapter of this dissertation establishes the existence of overt old-fashioned racism and introduces the shift to a contemporary covert form of racism. Prejudice and discrimination against Asian Americans will be highlighted since this is a population often ignored in race-related discussions in the United States. The concept of racial microaggressions is defined and presented as congruent and suitable with the theoretical and narrative literature on Asian American experiences of racism.

The second chapter presents the evidence of the shift from old-fashioned, overt racism to subtle, covert forms of racism. Existing studies on the different theories of this contemporary form of racism, including racial microaggressions, is reviewed. Since the purpose of this dissertation is to develop an instrument of contemporary discrimination against Asian Americans, current measures of covert racism for Asian Americans are also reviewed. Lastly, the need for an AARMS is discussed and a rationale for its construction is provided.

The third chapter describes the methodology and results of the study, including the quantitative instruments used in establishing concurrent and discriminant validity of the AARMS as well as results of the data analyses. The fourth chapter focuses on a discussion of study results, limitations of the study, and implications of the scale for future research and clinical practice.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Shift from Overt to Covert Forms of Racism

Investigations into racial attitudes in the 70's engendered a false impression that negative stereotypes about Blacks in the U.S. have decreased (Farley, 1977; Pettigrew, 1979). More recently, researchers skeptical of these findings have suggested that unconscious racism exists in new and covert forms, even though overt, old-fashioned, and conscious forms of racism appear to have diminished (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Further, this covert form of racism may be considerably more harmful than blatant traditional racism (Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1993), as individuals may appear non-racist while secretly harboring negative affect or beliefs about Blacks in serving to support prejudicial and discriminatory practices (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). A number of different terms have been used in the literature to describe this new form of racism. These covert forms of racism were identified as symbolic racism (Sears, 1988), modern racism (McConahay, 1986), aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), and racial microaggressions (D.W. Sue, Capodilupo et al., 2007).

Symbolic racism. As the first of these terms in labeling contemporary racism, symbolic racism was initially introduced to explain White attitudes regarding racial issues in politics through examining their attitudes toward Blacks. These biased racial attitudes were conceptualized to originate from a combination of anti-Black affect and American conservative values within a political belief system (Sears, 1988). In other words, symbolic racism is a form of discrimination describing White attitudes toward Blacks embodying the reasons why Blacks "fail" to progress in society. Four themes were proposed to underlie this racially-biased political belief system: (1) work ethic and responsibility for outcomes, (2) excessive demands, (3) denial of continuing discrimination, and (4) undeserved advantage (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears &

Henry, 2003; Tarman & Sears, 2005). According to this belief system, Blacks are continuing to demand that society makes amends for its past racism, so that they could have an advantage in life to compensate for their unwillingness to work hard and take responsibility for their own personal outcomes, These four themes were chosen according to the rationale that if the Civil Rights era has ended discrimination against Blacks, then the continuous disadvantage they face must be due to their own laziness, and so their demands for special treatment must be unreasonable and they must not be deserving of the gains they have made (Henry & Sears, 2002).

When the concept of symbolic racism was first put forth, its theorists proposed that this form of racism is a major determinant of White American racial policy preferences and voting behavior (Sears, 1988). As such, the construct of symbolic racism has mainly been investigated in relation to politics and shown to produce strong effects on White American political attitudes in racial policy preferences (Kluegel & Smith, 1983; McConahay, 1982), and in the endorsement of Black politicians (Kinder & Sanders, 1996; McConahay & Hough, 1976). For instance, in two separate studies, both McConahay and Hough (1976) and Kinder and Sanders (1996) found symbolic racism to be related to and predictive of the choice of White voters to vote or not to vote for a Black mayoral candidate. In other studies, strong effects of symbolic racism were found in Whites' resistance to busing Black children to predominantly White schools (McConahay, 1982) and affirmative action policies (Kluegel & Smith, 1983). In sum, the notion of symbolic racism was created to explicate the political choices of Whites toward issues related to Black Americans.

Modern racism. Another term that describes the newer, more covert form of discrimination is modern racism (McConahay, 1986). Modern racism is defined as a

contemporary type of racism characterized by holding both egalitarian beliefs and negative feelings toward Blacks or racial issues. McConahay (1986) proposes that negative racial attitudes have not declined as much as traditional measures and research on racism seem to suggest; "old-fashioned" racism characterized by bigotry and blatant discriminatory acts has simply been replaced by an implicit, subtler form of prejudice. Therefore, the Modern Racism Scale was originally developed to be less reactive to old-fashioned racism so that it would measure this contemporary form of racism with greater accuracy and circumvent participant refusal to answer racially motivated questions (McConahay, 1986). With Americans appearing to endorse greater racial acceptance, McConahay (1986) believes that White individuals are discouraged from overtly expressing their negative racial sentiments in favor of appearing more racially accepting in a politically correct American society. Thus, White individuals may develop a view of themselves as non-racist, while unbeknownst to them, their racial beliefs and attitudes may still be very racist in nature. Modern racism theory contends that the Modern Racism Scale assesses the degree to which Whites possess an implicit set of beliefs that result in an "ambivalent" set of racial attitudes (McConahay, 1986).

Similar to the tenets of symbolic racism, modern racists implicitly believe that discrimination against Blacks no longer exists, Blacks are unreasonably demanding, demanding too hard and too fast, and that the gains they have made and attention they have received are undeserved. In addition, they tend to believe erroneously that the above beliefs are empirical facts and that blatant, old-fashioned racism is bad (McConahay, 1986). The theory of modern racism asserts that the affective component of racial attitudes – which is acquired nonverbally, indirectly, early on in life, and resistant to change – influence the cognitive component of racial

attitudes when Whites are required to interpret new events or engage in activities that have race-related content.

The modern racism theory purports that modern racists are "ambivalent" in their attitudes toward Blacks because they implicitly possess a moderately negative view of Blacks, yet simultaneously believe in the American value of equality and fair play (McConahay, 1986). Therefore, ambivalent White individuals will be swayed toward biased or non-biased behaviors depend on the conditions or situations (McConahay, 1983). Modern racism theory declares that in a social climate that seems more racially accepting, modern racists cannot justify expressing a racially negative attitude, and therefore will not exhibit overtly negative racial attitudes or beliefs when they know that their actions will generate attributions of prejudice from others. The modern racists will only express their negative attitudes when they can minimize the likelihood of their biased actions to be viewed as racist by others, such as in the following conditions: (1) ideological ambiguity, (2) situational ambiguity, (3) situations necessitating the derogation of a person harmed by the subject, (4) lack of clear norms, and (5) seemingly race-irrelevant situations. Ideological ambiguity refers to a situation where a highly plausible and non-biased explanation or value for the prejudiced behavior is present. Situational ambiguity refers to a condition where other individuals are present to justify explain the prejudicial behavior (i.e., in a group of White individuals) so that the blame is not necessarily laid upon the White individual alone. Modern racism is also at work in situations where the derogation of a person harmed by the White individual seems necessary (i.e., atrocious acts have been attributed to a Black individual). Modern racism can also been seen in situations where clear normative guidelines or racial salient cues are lacking. not available In situations where the expression of racially negative attitude may be maximally attributed as bigotry (i.e., where the norms are clear, race is

salient, and ideological attributions are not available, and social comparisons are possible), these ambivalent individuals will overcompensate for their negative attitudes by acting more positively than unambivalent individuals (McConahay, 1983). While some have not found empirical support for modern racism (Migetz, 2004), others have (Hill & Pfeifer, 1992). For example, in one study on guilt ratings of mock jurors, significant race effects on ratings were found (Pfeifer & Berstein, 2003). In another study on guilt ratings, prejudicial ratings disappeared when clear normative guidelines (i.e., Legal Standard Guilt Rating; Pfeifer & Ogloff, 2003).

Aversive racism. Following the theoretical tradition of symbolic and modern racism, aversive racism refers to the ambivalence of White individuals harboring negative feelings about Blacks while viewing themselves as nonprejudiced because they endorse American egalitarian values (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). Simply put, aversive racism can be defined as the feelings of discomfort that Whites experience toward Blacks due to a fear of exposing their own racist ways, particularly given their endorsement of liberal egalitarian values. Two unique aspects of the aversive racism construct relate to feelings of uneasiness rather than hostility, and primary applicability to political liberals rather than conservatives (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). The aversive racist may experience feelings of uneasiness, discomfort, fear, or disgust instead of hostility or hate because they fear acting in racially inappropriate ways, which lead to avoidant rather than aggressive destructive behaviors (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). In addition, while previously proposed racism theories seem to be found amongst political conservatives, aversive racism seem to exist more frequently in liberals (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). Thus, it is the ambivalence that causes these contemporary racists to behave in unstable ways: sometimes they act in discriminatory ways in reflecting the negative portion of their racial attitudes, and sometimes they refrain from discriminating in mirroring their

egalitarian convictions (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). However, because they fundamentally possess negativity toward Blacks, these White individuals will eventually express attitudes or commit acts of discrimination in subtle ways, and only when the bias is not obvious or could be explained by a factor other than race (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). Because the aversive racist has a non-prejudiced self-image, he or she will not easily recognize his or her own racial bias or the prejudices of others that are covert in nature (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Further, in not recognizing bias, the prejudiced self-view is preserved (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

The aversive racism perspective asserts that contemporary racists truly believe that they are non-prejudiced (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998), and according to Gaertner and Dovidio (1986), aversive racism characterizes the racial attitudes of a considerable segment of educated and liberal Whites in America. This theory proposes that anthropological, cognitive, motivational, and socio-cultural processes have orchestrated White Americans to develop negative feelings about Blacks (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Whether it is due to greater familiarity with intra-racial contact, discomfort or fear of cultural differences, normative social categorization that results in in-group favoritism, competition for personal or group interests in a world of limited resources, and/or internalization of historically racist traditions in America, White Americans have developed negative affect toward Blacks (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). However, this negativity is outside of aversive racists' awareness because of the importance that egalitarian beliefs play in their self-concept (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).

Thus, when circumstances provoke the appearance of these negative racial sentiments, aversive racists will vigorously disconnect themselves from these feelings and avoid acting in racially biased ways. As a result, they will often overcompensate by acting in ways that would affirm their seemingly non-racist beliefs and egalitarian values. In one study, using vignettes of

court cases, White participants self-reporting low levels of prejudice strongly recommended the death penalty when the defendant was Black only if a Black juror had also advocated for the death penalty (Dovidio, Smith, Donnella, & Gaertner, 1997). Interestingly, these same participants also had the strongest recommendations against the death penalty when the defendant was Black and all the jurors were White.

Due to their ambivalence, the true racial attitudes of the aversive racists would only manifest when certain conditions are met, conditions that are similar to the circumstances in which the modern racists would show their true colors (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). For example, aversive racists will only discriminate when there are no clear normative guidelines and nonracial factors could be a justification for a biased response (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). In one study on recruitment, Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) found that White participants only discriminated against Black candidates when no clear guidelines were given, such as when the Black candidate's qualifications for the position were only mediocre. In another study on emergency reactions, when White bystanders were given nonracial rationalizations to not help (i.e., other bystanders could help), they were less likely to help when the victim was Black than when the victim was White (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977). In a related study, Johnson, Whitestone, Jackson, and Gatto (1995) found that the presentation of inadmissible evidence in a court case was correlated with increased judgments of guilty for Black defendants, but not White defendants, even though participants self-reported that the inadmissible evidence had less effect on their decisions when the defendant was Black. This appears to provide evidence for the notion that aversive racists are unaware of the extent of their own racism.

Because conscious negative thoughts about Blacks are seen as racist, the negative content of aversive racists' racial attitudes are only exhibited through a preference for Whites, a

favoritism for the White group, and a relative derogation of the out-group (i.e., Blacks; Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). In asking White participants to describe Blacks and Whites with positive or negative characteristics, Whites were consistently evaluated more positively than Blacks (Dovidio, Mann, & Gaertner, 1989). In another study, though negative traits were not associated more with Blacks for these White participants, *positive* characteristics were associated more with Whites than with Blacks (Gaertner & McLaughlin, 1983). Additionally, the same study found that decisions were made faster when positive attributes were paired with the word "white" than with the word "black", with faster responses representing greater association in memory between the words (Gaertner & McLaughlin, 1983). Another study involved rating college admission applications with varied applicant race and qualifications (Kline & Dovidio, 1982). White participants evaluated White applicants slightly more positively than Black applicants when the applicant demonstrated only moderate qualifications; White participants evaluated Black applicants significantly less positively than White applicants when the applicant demonstrated strong qualifications. This suggests that Whites are simply viewed more positively and Blacks relatively less so. Table 1 lists the major differences found between Symbolic Racism, Modern Racism, and Aversive Racism.

Insert Table 1 about Here

Limitations of Initial Theories of Contemporary Racism

All of the theories reviewed above focused exclusively on Black Americans (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears & Henry, 2003). Empirical studies on racism, prejudice, and discrimination have also been conducted primarily among Black Americans (Hune & Chan, 1997; Swim et al.,

1995). This population focus is not surprising given the historical primacy of racism against Black Americans in the United states (Pettigrew, 1975). Nevertheless, given the unique history of Blacks in America (Fireside, 2004; Griffin, 1996), research findings among Black Americans cannot be assumed to generalize to all people of color, including Asian Americans. In addition, all of the above theories of contemporary racism have focused on attitudes of perpetrators of racism. It is important to examine the experience of discrimination from the perspective of the targets in order to better understand the lived experience and potential impact of racism.

Racial Microaggressions

Definition. Another way of examining the subtle manifestations of contemporary racism against Asian Americans is through the concept of racial microaggressions. First termed by Pierce et al., (1978), "racial microaggressions" was conceived as daily racial encounters that are "subtle, stunning, often automatic" (p. 66). No research was conducted on this form of racism until Solorzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) utilized focus groups to qualitatively study subtle racial experiences and climate on a college campus. Solorzano and colleagues (2000) described racial microaggressions as subtle, automatic, or unconscious insults (verbal, nonverbal, and/or visual) that are directed toward people of color. However, research interest in racial microaggressions did not gain momentum until D.W. Sue and his colleagues (D.W. Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007; D.W. Sue, Lin, & Rivera, 2009; D.W. Sue, Lin, Torino, Rivera, & Capodilupo, 2009; D.W. Sue, Nadal, et al., 2008; D.W. Sue, Rivera, Capodilupo, Lin, & Torino, 2010; D.W. Sue, Torino, Capodilupo, Rivera, & Lin, 2009) made the assertion that racial microaggressions have a potentially injurious impact on the target. Though these racial exchanges may be brief and appear harmless to the perpetrator, they may still inflict a deeply invalidating and denigrating impact on people of color.

Racial microaggressions can be detected in many everyday encounters for Asian Americans. Examples include teachers overlooking classroom participation of Asian American students, restaurant hosts and hostesses seating Asian American patrons in the back of the restaurant near the restroom, and airport security personnel screening Asian American passengers with greater care (Lin, 2010). Due to the subtle nature of these microaggressions, encountering such incidents without expecting them can have a salient and demeaning effect on their victims (D.W. Sue, 2003).

Racial microaggressions are also experienced as automatic and unconscious insults (Solorzano et al., 2000). Due to the unconscious nature of microaggressions, well-intentioned individuals may engage in prejudices and commit subtle discriminatory acts without conscious awareness (D.W. Sue, 2003). Verbal instances of racial microaggressions for an Asian American can take form in statements such as "You speak such good English," "But you speak without an accent," and "So where are you really from?" (D.W. Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007). Many Asian Americans indicate that they perceive these statements as invalidating and alienating because they reflect a worldview and stereotype that Asian Americans are foreigners in their own land (Sue & Sue, 2008). Being treated as an "illegitimate American" (Tuan, 1998, p. 37) is a common experience for the Asians in America, regardless of generational differences (Espiritu, 1992; Min, 1995).

Taxonomy. D.W. Sue, Capodilupo et al. (2007) have proposed a classification of three forms of racial microaggressions: microassault, microinsult, and microinvalidation. Microassaults are defined as explicit racial derogations that are verbal (i.e., racial epithets) or nonverbal (i.e., behavioral discrimination) attacks intended to injure the person of color. They are generally deliberate in their messages and consciously delivered. Calling someone a "Jap" or

when White parents discouraging a son or daughter from dating Black Americans because "they are different from us" are examples of microassaults. This category of microaggression is comprised of deliberate and conscious acts/speech, and thus it is considered similar to the old-fashioned forms of racism (Dovidio & Gaetner, 2000; Sears, 1988).

In contrast, microinsults and microinvalidations tend to be more unintentional and are proposed to operate outside the level of awareness. Though these forms of microaggressions may not have been committed intentionally, they still may be an intensely negative experience for the recipient. Microinsults are behavioral actions or verbal remarks that convey rudeness and insensitivity in demeaning a person's racial identity or heritage. A White manager who states, "The most qualified person should get the job," to a prospective applicant of color may be perceived as implying that people of color are not qualified. Microinvalidations are behaviors that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color. When an Asian American is complimented for speaking "good English", the underlying message may be that Asians are perpetual foreigners in their own country (Tuan, 1998).

Themes. From a comprehensive literature review and a study of narratives, D.W. Sue, Capodilupo et al. (2007) proposed nine categories/themes of racial microaggressions: (1) alien in own land, (2) ascription of intelligence, (3) color blindness, (4) criminality/assumption of criminal status, (5) denial of individual racism, (6) myth of meritocracy, (7) pathologizing cultural values/communication styles, (8) second class status, and (9) environmental invalidation. The researchers appeared to consider the ninth category, environmental invalidation to be more of a mechanism for delivering microaggressions (i.e., verbal, behavioral and environmental) rather than a free standing and distinct expression of microaggression; therefore, only eight

themes were categorized as microinsults or microinvalidations. The category of microinsults consisted of ascription of intelligence, second class citizen, pathologizing cultural values/communication styles and assumption of criminal status; the category of microinvalidation consisted of alien in own land, color blindness, myth of meritocracy and denial of individual racism. Figure 1 details the relationships between each of the microaggressive categories and themes as well as their definitions.

Insert Figure 1 about Here

Impact: Psychological well-being. Research shows that mental health status can be adversely affected through the subjective experience of discrimination (Broman, 1997; Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Taylor & Turner, 2002). Scholars have argued that perception of unfair treatment alone can lead to negative emotional reactions, but when the prejudicial treatment is attributed to race, the levels of unfair treatment experienced is magnified (Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997). Being negatively judged based on phenotypic characteristics and other ethnic factors may invoke a demoralizing effect on the self-esteem, self-efficacy, and general mental health of people of color (Porter & Washington, 1993; Sodowski, Lai, & Plake, 1991). Studies on psychological correlates of racism against Asian Americans have found perceived discrimination to be positively correlated with depression and psychological distress (Utsey, Chae, Brown, & Kelly, 2002; Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2000) and negatively correlated with well-being, subjective competence, and quality of life.

Scholars have speculated and studied how implicit stereotyping could cause an internal attribution for discrimination, which results in psychological damage (Banaji & Greenwald,

1991). One study found everyday occurrences of discrimination to be positively associated with distress, depression, and generalized anxiety (Essed, 1991; Kessler, Mickelson & Williams, 1999; Williams et al., 1997), and other studies found subtle and recurring discrimination to be inversely related to life satisfaction (Essed, 1991). The subtle nature of "everyday discrimination" (Essed, 1991) closely corresponds to the covert nature of racial microaggressions (D.W. Sue, Capodilupo et al., 2007), therefore, "Those who express no explicit intention to harm, to be prejudiced, or to be unfair in their social judgments may nevertheless cause harm, act prejudicially, and behave in contradiction to their egalitarian beliefs" (Banaji & Dasgupta, 1998, p. 166).

Perhaps due to the unconscious nature of microaggressions and "through selective perception, Whites are unlikely to hear many of the inadvertent racial slights that are being made in their presence" (Lawrence, 1987, p. 340-341). Since White racial worldviews are often embedded unconsciously in racial microaggressions, many well-intentioned Whites do not detect the harm in racial microaggressions or perceive racial microaggressions as a form of prejudice and discrimination. Even seemingly positive stereotypes can still have devastating consequences when they are translated into discriminatory behaviors. While endorsing negative stereotypes has been found to be inversely related to self-esteem (Hughes & Demo, 1989), refusal to endorse a positive stereotype, such the model minority myth, can also be negatively related to life satisfaction and happiness (Williams & Chung, 1996). When White individuals unconsciously express attitudes of White superiority, favoritism, or racial stereotype through racial microaggressions, individuals of color may feel inferior or invalidated.

Solórzano and colleagues (2000) reported that microaggressions result in negative racial climates for Blacks, and foster self-doubt, frustration, and a sense of isolation in the victims.

D.W. Sue, Capodilupo et al., (2008) described how the therapeutic alliance between a White counselor and a client of color may be damaged by occurrences of racial microaggression in a counseling dyad. Similarly, Constantine and D.W. Sue (2007) empirically found that experiences of racial microaggression from White supervisors have been detrimental to Black counseling trainees, the supervisory relationship, and even the clients of color who were seen by the trainees (Constantine & D.W. Sue, 2007). Feelings of confusion, pain, anger, shame, inferiority, and loneliness have been associated with this subtle form of racism for Asians (Tuan, 1998), particularly given the role of social approval in self-esteem development for Asian Americans, dictated by Asian cultural values (Crocker et al., 1995, as cited in Crocker & Quinn, 1998). Pierce (1995) has noted as well that the collective effects of racial microaggressions may result in "diminished mortality, augmented morbidity and flattened confidence" (p. 281). According to D. W. Sue (2003), "this contemporary form of racism is many times over more problematic, damaging, and injurious to persons of color than overt racist acts" (p. 48). All of the investigators concluded that the potential (and perhaps cumulative) effects of racial microaggressions are devastating due to the ambiguous nature of racial microaggression.

Impact: Education. Studies have shown that unlike overt discrimination, exposure to subtle forms of racism can impede cognitive functioning and performance (Banaji & Greenwald, 1991; Salvatore & Shelton, 2007; Steele; 1997). In one particular study, ambiguous racial prejudice interfered significantly with performance on a task of directed attention (i.e., the Stroop Test) for the participants (Salvatore & Shelton, 2007). In another study, participants exhibited decreased performance when coping with aversive racism compared with overt, old-fashioned racism because they found it harder to cope with subtle forms of discrimination (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). Steele's study (1997) on stereotype threat also shows that the reminder of a

negative stereotype can adversely influence academic performance. Results from these studies suggest that subtle prejudice and discrimination such as racial microaggressions can negatively impact students in the academic environment, hindering students from learning by interfering with cognitive functioning (D.W. Sue, Lin, Torino, et al., 2009). Whether the microaggression is coming from instructors or fellow classmates, students' learning may be impeded when cognitive energy is spent in deciphering and coping with microaggressions rather than absorbing the curriculum.

Impact: Workplace. Researchers have found that subtle forms of prejudice and discrimination can be harmful to employees of color in the workplace (Deitch et al., 2003; Rowe, 1990; Stallworth, McPherson, & Rute, 2001). Because racial microaggressions and other forms of subtle racism may not be easily identifiable and disputable, they often exacerbate unequal opportunities that already exist in the workplace (D.W. Sue, Lin, & Rivera, 2009). Therefore, some scholars suggest that occupational segregation and glass ceilings are created through subtle discrimination, such as racial microaggressions (Rowe, 1990; Stallworth et al., 2001). Others also speculate that encountering subtle prejudice in the workplace can impair performance and reduce productivity in the workplace (Hinton, 2004; Rowe, 1990). Research shows that people of color find subtle racism much harder to deal with than overt, old-fashioned racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998), and thus some of their mental energy is diverted toward processing the ambiguous prejudice and discrimination, that their cognitive and work performance diminish as a result (Salvatore & Shelton, 2007). When the racial microaggression is coming from a superior, the power differential in the work relationship may make it even more difficult for the employee of color to speak out for fear of retribution (Rowe, 1990). Given, the complexity of workplace

dynamics, subtle racism experienced in the professional realm may be more challenging for the individual of color to deal with (D.W. Sue, Lin, & Rivera, 2009).

Emerging Empirical Evidence. Despite considerable conceptual and narrative support for the concept of racial microaggression and its taxonomy, empirical verification of the classification scheme is only in its infancy stage (D.W. Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007; D.W. Sue, Capodilupo et al., 2007). A survey of the literature reveals few published studies that focus specifically on racial microaggressions and its effects (Constantine & D.W. Sue, 2007; Solórzano et al., 2000; D.W. Sue, et al., 2010; D.W. Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007; D.W. Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008; D.W. Sue, Lin, & Rivera, 2009; D.W. Sue, Lin, Torino et al., 2009; D.W. Sue, Torino et al., 2009; D.W. Sue, Nadal et al., 2008). There is a paucity of empirical studies on the nature and effects of racial microaggressions that are representative of various racial groups (Delgado & Stefancic, 1992; Johnson, 1988; Lawrence, 1987). The racial microaggression taxonomy was derived from aggregating the microaggressions experienced by several racial/ethnic minority (i.e., Black Americans, Asian Americans, Latino/Hispanic Americans) focus groups under the assumption that they apply equally to all groups of color. However, the differential weighting of categories across the various racial groups may reveal qualitative differences in how racism and stereotypes are perpetuated, and their impact experienced. For example, Black and Latino Americans may experience being mistaken as a criminal (i.e., racial microaggressive category of "assumption of criminal status") more frequently than Asian Americans, while Asian and Latino Americans may encounter being treated as non-American (i.e., racial microaggressive category of "perpetual foreigner") at a higher rate than Black Americans. Regardless of the particular type of microaggression, current literature on covert racism support the contention that these subtle acts of discrimination can

significantly harm the victims in a myriad of ways (Lin, 2010; D.W. Sue, 2003). One way of test piloting the suitability of racial microaggressions in understanding the covert racism that Asian Americans face today is by examining items on contemporary racism scales.

Comparing Measures of Covert Racism

Subtle focus. Given that racial microaggressions appear to be representative of the covert nature of contemporary racism, the taxonomy of racial microaggression could be used as framework to elucidate the utility of contemporary racism scales in investigating discrimination against Asian Americans. Since there is no specific scale measuring aversive racism, only symbolic racism and modern racism will be included in this analysis. Upon closer look, it is clear that most of the items on these contemporary racism scales fall somewhere between microassaults and microinsults, and are less able to capture experiences of microinvalidations. For example, two of the four themes in Symbolic Racism Scale "Excessive Demands" (e.g., Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights) and "Undeserved Advantage" (e.g., Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve") seem to fall between microassaults and microinsults since they reflect an ignorant view of racial heritage of blacks in America, and simultaneously appear intentionally offensive. However, the other two themes, "Work Ethic and Responsibility for Outcomes" (e.g., "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites") and "Denial of Continuing Discrimination" (e.g. "Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States"), appear to be a microinvalidation since they represent a clear lack of knowledge with regards to the ramifications of a racist history in America and how these ramifications impact lives of Black Americans today. Further, two themes of microinvalidations

identified in the literature are expressions of belief in the myth of meritocracy and denial of individual racism.

In examining the Modern Racism Scale, it seems the same pattern exists. More than half of the items that were considered Modern Racism items, (e.g., "Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve," "Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve," "Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights," "Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted") may be categorized as microinsults because they represent rude and insensitive statements that demean the racial heritage of Black Americans. However, it is also arguable to classify the above items under microassaults since they seem rather deliberate and conscious in their message intent and delivery. The other two items representing modern racism on the Modern Racism Scale (i.e., "It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America," "Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States") seem to fall into the category of microinvalidations. These may be microinvalidations because the messages are more covert in their bias, while negating the racial reality of the population in question. These items may appear innocent or harmless to many Whites because it may not be as obvious to Whites that discrimination is alive and well in America. Also, being part of the source of this anger, it may be minimizing and invalidating to have Whites claiming to easily understand the anger of Blacks. Table 2a and 2b outline the items of Modern Racism Scale and Symbolic Racism Scale under the racial microaggression framework in understanding the subtle nature of these items.

Insert Table 2a, 2b about Here

In examining the nature of racial microaggressions, most of the original themes from the Sue, Capodilupo et al. (2007) study are either microinsults or microinvalidations because they convey rudeness (microinsult) or invalidate the racial reality of the individual (microinvalidation). For example, the themes of invisibility, exoticization of Asian women, alien in own land, and ascription of intelligence appear to be microinvalidations because they are extremely subtle in nullifying the experiential reality of the Asian American individual; Whites could defend these microaggressions by pointing to how complimentary it is to be perceived as intelligent or pointing to the vast numbers of Asian foreigners in the U.S. However, in defending these microaggressions, the potential psychological impact is downplayed. For example, being viewed as good in Math when Math has never been a strong suite of the Asian person (ascription of intelligence) can be perplexing and frustrating. Another example, being constantly perceived as the foreigner (i.e., perpetual foreigner) when this country is the only country that the Asian American has ever known can be very marginalizing because it sends a message that the Asian American does not belong in America. Also, being ignored (i.e., invisible) when you desperately need help can evoke feelings of helplessness. Some themes may still fall into the category of microinsult because they denigrate the individual's racial background. For example, pathologizing cultural values/communication styles is a theme that appears more blatant in demeaning the racial heritage of Asian Americans because it can be a direct communication that Asian cultural ways are not accepted in American society. For example, when teachers tell Asian American students that not giving direct eye contact or not being vocal in classroom participation is not acceptable classroom behavior, this can be devaluing because such communication patterns might have been an integral part of Asian

American upbringing. Clearly, the concept of racial microaggressions taps into the heart of contemporary racism: the subtlety of its manifestations.

Recipient-oriented focus. Though theories of symbolic racism and modern racism scales allude to the effects of racism on its victims, they focus predominantly on the phenomenon of contemporary racism in relation to White perpetrators. Thus, neither of the scales of contemporary racism was developed to examine the subjective experience of the recipients of racism. While it is certainly important to understand the racist messages communicated by perpetrators, it is also important to examine the experience of contemporary racism through the lens of its victims, given the potentially damaging effects of racism on its recipients as outlined above. Therefore, it is important to further study the concept of racial microaggression, which focuses conceptually on the experiences of its recipients. Nevertheless, there is a paucity of empirical investigations on the precise nature and the effects of racial microaggressions, and no scale has been developed to date which measures these experiences, particularly for Asian Americans. As with overt racism, instruments assessing covert racism were created for and psychometrically validated in Black American samples, particularly Black middle-class university students, faculty, and academic staff (Utsey, 1998). During the time of the construction of these instruments, there was a prevailing notion that Black Americans were the sole victims of contemporary forms of racism. For example, other Americans of color residing in the United States do not typically experience being viewed as "angry" (Modern Racism Scale) or as "getting too demanding in their push for equal rights" (Symbolic Racism Scale). Whether semantically or thematically, the items of Symbolic Racism Scale and Modern Racism Scale preclude potential application to other people of color in America.

Comprehensive focus. Although many social scientists have suggested that racism and stereotyping operate under similar principles for all marginalized groups (Jones, 1997), expressions of racism may manifest differently for various racial groups (Liang, et al., 2004; Sue & Sue, 2008). Research also suggests that different racial groups experience the effects of racism in diverse ways (Crocker et al., 1995, as cited in Crocker & Quinn, 1998). Some have found the attributional ambiguity of perceived discrimination to have a positive effect on personal self-esteem of Black Americans while having a negative effect for Asian Americans (Crocker et al., 1995, as cited in Crocker & Quinn, 1998). Differential effect of perceived discrimination on various racial groups could be speculated to be due to factors related to racial socialization. Regardless, the concept of racial microaggressions as proposed by D.W. Sue, Capodilupo et al. (2007) appears to be more comprehensive and inclusive of all individuals of color than other conceptualizations of contemporary racism, such as ascription of intelligence (i.e., Black/Asian Americans), assumption of criminal status (i.e., Black/Latino Americans), alien in own land (i.e., Asian/Latino Americans), and denial of individual racism (i.e., all individuals of color).

Empirical evidence for racial microaggressions as a useful construct across racial groups came from focus group studies with Asian Americans and Black Americans. In the study with Black American participants, themes and messages such "You do not belong," "You are abnormal," "You are intellectually inferior," "You cannot be trusted," and "You are all the same" arose (D.W. Sue, Capodilupo et al., 2008). In contrast, in the Asian American study, themes of alien in own land, ascription of intelligence, exoticization of Asian women, invalidation of interethnic differences, denial of racial reality, pathologizing cultural values/communication styles, second class citizenship, and invisibility were found (D.W. Sue,

Bucceri et al., 2007). Interestingly, these themes of racial microaggressions against Asian Americans coincide with popular Asian stereotypes (Lin, 2010), which underlie contemporary discrimination (Jones, 1997).

In both racial microaggressions studies, some themes were consistent with those originally proposed by D.W. Sue, Capodilupo et al. (2007), while others were newly emerging themes. Some appear to be more race-specific while others seem more universally applicable to all racial groups. In comparing the two focus group studies, it seems clear that Black Americans are perceived less as foreigners and less worthy of trust, when compared to Asian Americans. In contrast, themes of being invisible and intelligent appear to be themes more common to Asian Americans. Therefore, themes related to intellectual inferiority and not being worthy of trust appear to be more specific to Black Americans, while themes pertaining to being intelligent, exotic, foreign, and invisible seem more particular to Asian Americans.

Applicability to Asian Americans. As with overt racism, instruments assessing covert racism were created for and psychometrically validated on Black Americans, particularly Black middle-class university students, faculty, and academic staff (Utsey, 1998). A topical survey of contemporary incidents of racial discrimination in the field of psychology and sociology reveals extensive discussions of Asian stereotypes. Based on the present review of literature, it is asserted that the underlying themes of modern discrimination against Asian Americans may be detected through an analytical survey of popular Asian stereotypes. Common Asian stereotypes that have been documented in the literature include: model minority, second-class citizen, yellow peril/perpetual foreigner, all Asians are alike, invisibility, and sexualization of Asian women (Lin, 2010). It is important to notice that these Asian stereotypes are almost identical with the themes that D.W. Sue, Bucceri et al., (2007) found in their Asian American study on racial

microaggressions. Table 3 details the thematic similarities found between the themes found in the narrative literature on racism against Asian Americans and the D.W. Sue, Bucceri et al. (2007) study.

Insert Table 3 about Here

Although anecdotes, narratives, and qualitative literature all attest to the subtle form of racism that Asian Americans tend to experience, there has been no systematic investigation into the experience of these microaggressions, particularly for Asian Americans. Thus, it is imperative to make the "unconscious conscious" (Banaji & Greenwald, 1991) by elucidating the extent of such bias and discrimination from the perspective of the Asian victims of racial microaggression. With the severe mental health underutilization and pervasiveness of Asian stereotyping, the unconscious and subtle manifestations of Asian American stereotypes in everyday experiences of prejudice and discrimination need to be assessed. An accurate understanding of the workings of Asian stereotypes and the covert ways in which contemporary discrimination adversely affect the life of Asian Americans (i.e., through racial microaggressions) can help to accurately describe, and possibly bring a new appreciation for, the Asian American experience.

Studying Asian Americans as One Group

Despite the unique ethnic background and other interethnic differences such as language, religion, and customs of the individual ethnic group that diversify the umbrella group of Asian Americans, the predominant support for the reason to study Asian Americans as a whole in

relation to racial microaggressions is the similar treatment that they receive from the American public and government (Espiritu, 1992).

All Asians share comparable experiences in America because the American government and other racial groups have treated Asian Americans similarly and are still treating them as one group, and would imaginably experience a similar form of racial microaggression that is different from that of other racial minorities. First, Asians were perceived by the American government as one racial group that was ineligible for naturalization until the McCarran-Walter Act in 1952 and given immigration restrictions throughout American history (Lott, 1998). Asians were then classified as one racial group for the 1990 U.S. Census (Lott, 1998). Presently, whether it is federal or local, public or private, even academic institutions and agencies combine all Asian ethnic groups together in allocating resources, compiling data for informing policies and administration (Min, 1995). Regardless of agreement/disagreement with the lumping on the part of Asians, and of the linguistic and ethnic diversity within the umbrella group of Asian Americans, they are categorized as one group by the American government.

It has also been shown that Asian American employees, as a group, tend to receive lower economic rewards and work in the secondary labor characterized by low wages, little benefits, job security and no promotional opportunities than their White counterparts of comparable education in spite of their relatively higher educational attainment, a phenomenon explainable by race alone (Cabezas & Kawaguchi, 1988; Hurh & Kim, 1989). An associating issue that affects all Asian Americans as well as explains the incomparable salary phenomenon is the glass ceiling effect: Asian Americans are dis-proportionally under-represented in high-ranking administrative and executive positions in academia or corporate America, particularly given their high representation in professional and technical occupations (Chan, 1989; Tang, 1993). The

incompatibility of Asian cultural values with American values as well as differential family socialization techniques compared to White American families (i.e., reserved, passive, non-aggressive mannerism) were often the reasons cited for the glass ceiling effect experienced by Asian Americans in corporate and public arenas. However, the extent to which these factors are true reasons for the severe under-representation of Asians in higher ranking positions is dubious. Scholars have suggested that other factors, such as prejudice and stereotype and exclusion from the "old boy" network to be at work in understanding the glass ceiling effect (Min, 1995; Takaki, 1989).

The rising of anti-Asian sentiment is also indicative of the general American public experiencing difficulty in reconciling the model minority myth and/or distinguishing physical ethnic differences between Asian ethnic groups. This has resulted in Asian Americans having been targets of attacks because they were mistaken for members of another Asian ethnic group. Racial slurs denigrating a particular Asian ethnic group would be used universally against any other Asian ethnic group, regardless of the ethnicity that the victim actually belongs to. Efforts to modify the 1965 Immigration Act could be seen as a concern regarding the increasing numbers of Asian immigrants in America, regardless of their particular country of origin in Asia (Takaki, 1989). This "all-Asians-look-like" phenomenon has led to the well-known murder of Vincent Chin in 1982 and mob killing of Navroz Mody in 1987. Being targets of anti-Asian hatred without distinguishing between the different Asian ethnic group memberships all point to a pan-Asian grouping (Min, 1995; Tuan, 1998). Regardless of the true extent to which Asian Americans endorse in a Pan-Asian identity, Asian Americans are indeed lumped together as a group and receive similar treatments from the American public and government. Due to the

similar treatments they receive in the American societal context, it is important to examine their common experience of racial microaggressions as one group.

Asian American Measures of Racism

There are few instruments designed specifically for use with Asian Americans. Common practice is to simply adapt or administer a scale created for and validated with another population (Liang et al., 2004) or use a multiethnic racism scale that appears theoretically suitable for any racial/ethnic minority population of interest (Kim, 2002). Three Asian American scales are reviewed in the following section. However, they are still unsuitable for the purposes of this dissertation because none of them specifically assesses the subtlety of contemporary racism, or racial microaggressions, against the general Asian American population.

Colonial Mentality Scale. The Colonial Mentality Scale (CMS; David & Okazaki, 2006) is a scale designed to assess the level of internalized colonialism amongst Filipino Americans. Although it is based on theory, psychometrically sound, and deals with oppression, the CMS was designed specifically for Filipino Americans for whom colonial oppression is particularly salient and significant factor in their development and mental health (David & Okazaki, 2006). As such, the CMS is not generalizable to the contemporary racial discriminatory experience of all Asian Americans.

Race-Related Stressor Scale. Race-Related Stressor Scale (RRSS; Loo, et al., 2001) is a measure of exposure to race-related stressors in the military and war zone that was designed and validated for Asian American Vietnam veterans. Three categories were found to describe race-related stress for Asian American Vietnam veterans: racial prejudice and stigmatization, bicultural identification and conflict, and racist environment. Although racism against Asian Americans is assessed, the nature of the discrimination that Asian veterans encountered in the

military environment during the Vietnam War era (e.g., identifying with the Vietnamese people or culture) is highly unique to this population and situation. Thus, although the RRSS appears to be psychometrically sound, its use is limited.

Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory. The Asian American Racism- Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI; Liang et al., 2004), on the other hand, was designed for the general Asian American public, examining their racism-related stress experience. Racism-related stress experience refers to experiences with racism that are emotionally taxing and threaten the well-being of people of color (Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000). This 29-item instrument was constructed to assess the level of race-related stress of Asian Americans. Results of Liang et al.'s study (2004) yielded three factors (Socio-Historical Racism, General Racism, Perpetual Foreigner Racism) with subscale alphas of .82, .75, and .84 respectively, and an overall alpha of .90. The same study also found the AARRSI to have concurrent validity with three existing measures of perceived and/or experienced racism: Schedule of Racist Events (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), Perceived Racism Scale (McNeilly, Anderson, Armstead, Clark, Corbett et al., 1996), and Cultural Mistrust Inventory (Terrell & Terrell, 1981). Discriminant validity was also established with the Asian Values Scale (Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999). The AARRSI has also been shown to have adequate test-retest reliability (.87; Liang et al., 2004).

Although the AARRSI is useful for assessing the general Asian American population and appears psychometrically sound, the scale has a number of limitations (Liang, et al., 2004). First, the measure includes both direct and vicarious experiences in its assessment of experience with racism. Even the creators of the AARRSI have suggested that reactions to first-hand experiences with racist events may be very different from those that arise in reaction to other Asian Americans, particularly given the potential difference in ethnic background of the

participants being assessed (Liang, et al., 2004). As a related issue, aggregating direct and vicarious experience with racism may be problematic, as two potentially distinct constructs are measured in the AARRSI. Furthermore, Liang and colleagues (2004) acknowledge that they neglected to utilize experts in the field to judge the AARRSI items in the initial stages of its construction, include instruments designed for Asian Americans in establishing concurrent validity, and recruit as many participants as necessary to enable adequate participants-to-item ratio in the exploratory factor analysis.

Comparing AARRSI with Racial Microaggressions

In analyzing the items of AARRSI, as with Modern Racism Scale and Symbolic Racism Scale, with the racial microaggressive framework, many of the AARRSI items may be categorized under the more covert forms of racial microaggression: microinsults and microinvalidations. In this respect, the more covert nature of most AARRSI items may be more representative of the contemporary discrimination that Asian Americans encounter. Upon analyzing the items of AARRSI, many items seem to be closely related to the notion of microinsults (e.g., "You are told that Asians have assertiveness problems," "Someone assumes that they serve dog meat in Asian restaurants," "someone tells you that the kitchens of Asian families smell and are dirty"). Microinsults are more offensive and rousing compared to microinvalidations because they are overtly rude in message or delivery. These items appeared explicit in their racially derogatory undertones, in a fashion that could not be easily explained or reasoned away by a participant or bystander.

The AARRSI also included the subtler form of racial microaggressions: microinvalidations. Each of these items either embodies a prevailing stereotype of Asians (e.g., Asians are smart, Asians are good in math, Asians know karate, all Asians look alike) or negate

Asians' racial reality (e.g., racism does not exist for Asians). Having a racial stereotype conveyed to a person from that racial group can be experienced as demeaning because the individuality of the person of color is not recognized, as not all Asians are good at math or know karate or fulfill every other stereotype. In addition, when an Asian individual experiences racism on a daily basis but is told by a White colleague/peer that Asians do not encounter racism, it is clearly negating the racial reality of the Asian person. Unlike the previous items that are asserted to be similar to microinsults, some of these items express racism against Asians in a subtler way that could potentially be explained away as an innocent remark (i.e., some Asians do know karate) or innocuous because it seems to be bestowing a positive attribute to the Asian individual (i.e., it is good to be presumed to be smart).

The items of Perpetual Foreigner Racism subscale appear to be particularly similar to microinvalidations since the stereotype clearly rejects the possibility that Asians could be Americans, thus rejecting the ethnic background of the Asian American as being part of the American culture and society (e.g., "You are asked where you are really from," "Someone asks you what your real name is," "You are told that you speak English so well"). In all of the items, there is an underlying theme of being non-American or a foreigner, hence the name of the subscale. It is important to notice that none of the AARRSI items reflect the category of microassaults since the items do not represent intentional attacks against Asian Americans, whether in the content of the messages or the way in which it is delivered. As a scale measuring contemporary racism experiences of Asian Americans, the lack of items reflecting microassaults affirms the importance of focusing on the subtler aspects of modern racism against Asian Americans. Additionally, both the AARRSI and microaggression theory refer to themes of ascription of intelligence and denial of individual racism.

Other thematic similarities between the AARRSI and racial microaggression pertinent to racism against Asian Americans include the racial microaggression category of "pathologizing cultural values/ communication styles. This category can be found in the AARSI item, "You are told that Asians have assertiveness problems," which suggests that the ways Asians communicate or present themselves is somehow "problematic". Also, the racial microaggression theme of "second class status" is represented in the AARRSI item "At a restaurant you notice that a White couple who came in after you is served before you."

Based on the level of similarities between the AARRSI and racial microaggressions theory, as well as the level of dissimilarities between the themes of racial microaggression theory and the Symbolic Racism Scale or the Modern Racism Scale, it can be concluded that: (1) there is a distinct construct of contemporary racism against Asian Americans; (2) this construct is different from contemporary racism against Black Americans, as represented by the Symbolic Racism Scale and Modern Racism Scale; (3) examining racism from the view of victims rather than the perpetuators yields a lens into the lived experience of discrimination and prejudice ; (4) contemporary manifestations of racism against Asian Americans appear primarily as microinsults and microinvalidations, rather than microassaults; and (5) other racial microaggressive themes not included in the AARRSI, such as "color blindness," "myth of meritocracy," and "environmental invalidation" all belong in the construct of contemporary racism against Asian Americans is yet to be investigated.

A Racial Microaggressions Measure for Asian Americans

Given the subtle nature of racial microaggressions and the covert nature of racism against Asian Americans (Tuan, 1998), the notion of racial microaggressions seems useful in understanding the Asian American experience with contemporary prejudice and discrimination.

The current literature on racial prejudice toward Asian Americans and the growing evidence of contemporary discrimination against Asian Americans suggest that it is important and timely to study the racial microaggressions experience of this population.

It is asserted in this dissertation that due to the covert nature of prejudice and discrimination that Asian Americans tend to experience, it is likely that Asians in the U.S. encounter microinvalidations and microinsults with greater frequency and impact than microassaults. One reason for such speculation is that many Americans do not believe that Asian Americans encounter racism (Delucchi & Do, 1996; Uba, 1994). By denying that racism exists for Asians in America, Americans are: (1) invalidating the daily discriminatory experience of people of color, and (2) subtly suggesting that feelings and thoughts arising from such experiences are unjustified. Both elements invalidate the racial reality and racial experiences of people of color, which are encompassed in the category of microinsults and microinvalidation. Microassaults may not be as applicable in describing contemporary manifestations of racism for Asian Americans since they are more overt, offensive, and intentional. Therefore, whether Asian Americans encounter microinvalidations and microinsults will be empirically investigated. In addition, studying the racial microaggression experience of Asian Americans will have theoretical and empirical implications for the construct of general racial microaggression that is experienced by other racial groups. It remains to be seen whether there will be thematic commonalities in microaggression experiences across racial groups by comparing themes from this dissertation to the themes found in D.W. Sue, Capodilupo et al. (2007) study.

Due to the subtle nature of contemporary manifestations of racism, the concept of racial microaggression may be tapping into an even subtler form of contemporary racism only just beginning to be examined in the literature. Without extensive empirical research and

documentation to better understand racial microaggressions, the potential threats that they pose and the psychological costs of their manifestations can easily be downplayed (Solórzano et al., 2000). It is with hope that a deeper understanding of racial microaggressions may mitigate its impact on its recipients. Empirical studies have found the most effective way to lessen discriminatory attitudes, or potential prejudicial behaviors of unconscious bias, to be an awareness of personal bias committed in the past, and not overt specific instruction not to engage in bias (Banaji & Dasgupta, 1998). "Drawing…information into conscious awareness allows mental (cognitive and motivational) resources to overrule the consciously unwanted but unconsciously operative response" (Banaji & Greenwald, 1991, p. 70). Better understanding the nature and impact of racial microaggressions toward Asian Americans will make the "invisible visible" (D.W. Sue, 2003). Constructing an instrument to measure these racial microaggressions can help to recognize the extent of such bias and discrimination from the perspective of Asian Americans.

Problem Statement

The current study seeks to construct an instrument measuring racial microaggressions encountered by Asian Americans, with the aim of: (a) highlighting the subtlety of contemporary racism that Asian Americans experience, (b) constructing a systematic way of measuring racial microaggression toward Asian Americans, (c) testing the concept of racial microaggression, (d) making implications for the further theoretical development of the concept of racial microaggression, (e) enabling cross-race comparisons of the general racial microaggression experience, (f) advancing the body of knowledge around racism against Asian Americans by bringing awareness regarding modern day racial discrimination towards Asian Americans.

Chapter III: Method and Results

Study 1: Instrument Development (AARMS-initial) and Pilot Study

Overview

Scale items of the AARMS were developed and generated. In order to assess for content and readability of the scale items as well as the ease of instrument completion and administration, a pilot study was conducted

Method

Item Development. An initial pool of 159 items reflecting the Asian American experience of racial microaggressions was generated based on (1) an extensive review of the literature, (2) existing transcripts from two focus groups, and (3) input from the dissertation advisor (Crocker & Algina, 1986). A thorough review of scholarship on prejudice and stereotype against Asian Americans, empirical articles on scale development in Asian American Psychology (i.e., AARRSI), and book chapters on contemporary forms of racial discrimination and prejudice against Asian Americans contributed to the initial list of items. Additional items were obtained from reviewing transcripts from focus groups that were run by the primary investigator's research team, comprised of two White Americans and three Asian Americans including the primary investigator, as a part of doctoral research coursework. The focus groups were conducted with Asian American participants, specifically examining their everyday experience with racial microaggressions. Input was also taken from the dissertation advisor, an Asian American widely recognized as a pioneer and an expert in the fields of Multicultural Psychology, Psychology of Racism, and Asian American Psychology.

Based on thematic similarity, tentative categorization of items was made based on the following categories from the D.W. Sue, Bucceri, et al. (2007) study: model minority, second-

class citizen, perpetual foreigner, all Asians are alike, invisibility, and sexualization of Asian women. According to feedback given by dissertation committee and more detailed analysis of focus group transcripts, the initial theme of sexualization of Asian women was expanded to include the de-sexualization of Asian men. A Likert-type scale was created for study participants to rate on their frequency of encounter (*1 = Never, 2 = Once in awhile, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Often, 5 = Most of the time, 6 = Almost all the time*) with the items on the proposed scale.

Reviewers of the proposed instrument were elicited to provide feedback on existing items, generate additional items, and verify the suitability of the proposed Likert-type scale in addition to the wording of instructions (DeVellis, 2003). First, the proposed scale was given to four Asian American individuals (2 male, 2 female, ages 25, 28, 30, 56) who served as general reviewers of the scale. These general reviewers were selected based on their race, gender, and age to enable a wide demographic representation of feedback given. Verbal and written feedback regarding the comprehensiveness of existing pool of items, readability and clarity of the instrument instructions, and appropriateness of the Likert-type scale utilized were incorporated. Nine Asian American expert reviewers were then chosen based on their race and academic and research expertise in the field of Asian American psychology/racial discrimination and/or scale construction (Crocker & Algina, 1986; DeVellis, 2003). These expert reviewers were contacted via email and eight responded positively to the instrument review task. However, only five expert reviews of scale items were successfully conducted via email, with the same instructions as given to Asian American individual reviewers. Table 4 details the demographic characteristics of the expert reviewers.

Insert Table 4 about Here

Changes to the instrument, including the instructions given, were made according to the email suggestions of the expert reviewers. A pilot study consisting of 49 participants was then conducted after randomly ordering the final pool of 159 items (AARMS-initial; Appendix B).

Participants. Participants consisted of 49 self-identified Asian Americans (11 males, 38 females) who reported having had experience with race in the United States. The mean age of participants was 30.3 years (SD = 7.41). Generational statuses of participants ranged from first to fourth generation Asian American (first = 40.8%, second = 49%, third = 4.1%, fourth = 6.1%), with 18.2 years (ranging from 3 to 36) as the average number of years the first generation participants in this study lived in the United States. Two first-generation participants did not disclose their years of residence in the United States. The ethnic diversity of the sample included Chinese (43%), Filipino (14.2%), Korean (12.2%), Taiwanese (8.2%), Vietnamese (6.1%), Malaysian (4.1%), Singaporean (4.1%), East Indian (4.1%), Thai (2%), and other (6.1%). Socioeconomic status of participants ranged from working class to upper class (working class = 8.2%, lower middle = 10.2%, middle = 53.1%, upper middle = 26.5%, upper=2%). Language proficiency of participants was good, with 5 being the most common rating (87.8%). Table 5 lists the descriptive statistics of the pilot sample.

Insert Table 5 about Here

Materials. In addition to the AARMS-initial, participants were given a demographic questionnaire including questions about age, gender, ethnicity, generational status, social class, and language proficiency (Appendix A).

Asian American Racial Microaggressions Scale (AARMS-initial). The AARMS-initial comprised of 159 items. Participants were asked to rate the frequency to which they experience each item on a Likert-type scale. In the introduction page, participants were given this description in orienting them to the concept of racial microaggressions:

> *You are invited to participate in a study about everyday experiences of racism that Asian Americans experience. The study seeks to examine how often Asian/Asian Americans experience modern subtle but frequent racial encounters that are termed "racial microaggressions."*

The instructions for the AARMS-initial consisted of:

> *We are interested in your daily experiences with race. As you answer each question, please think about your experience in the United States. Please feel free to provide feedback comment regarding the instructions, rating scale, content of items, etc.*
>
> ***Please choose the category that best describes your frequency of experience***

Procedure. Participants were recruited from email elicitations of known acquaintances of the primary researcher via the snowball effect. The advertisements for the study included the topic of the study and the URL address of the survey, since the survey (AARMS-initial, demographic questionnaire) was posted on the web. On the front page of the web-based survey, participants were informed that their participation in the dissertation study is voluntary and without compensation. After reading a brief description of the research study, participants were asked to provide informed consent before completing the demographic questionnaire and the

AARMS-initial. Participants were asked to type in comments and feedback pertaining to the content and readability of the AARMS-initial, including its instructions (i.e., Are the statements (1) clear, (2) easy to understand, (3) relevant after completing every 10 items of the AARMS-initial.

Results

Internal consistency of the 159-item AARMS-initial was computed using Cronbach's alpha, 0.98. With a 68% response rate, 23 participants submitted incomplete survey responses, with 4 failing to complete the demographic questionnaire and 19 failing to complete the first to the 80th item. All participants who reached the 80th item completed the entire survey. Regardless of survey completion, all typed comments/feedback were reviewed. Participants provided feedback regarding wording and content of several items, however, factor analysis did not retain any of those items.

Prior to the preliminary factor analysis, means and standard deviations of each item were computed and 29 items with means less than 1.5 and standard deviations less than .50 were deleted since they showed little evidence of variability in the data (i.e., items where participants responded predominantly with 1, 2, or 3 in their frequency rating). Originally, principal factor analysis (principal axis factoring) was the proposed analytic method to search for the least number of factors that could account for the common variance and covariation among variables (Costello & Osborne, 2005; Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum & Strahan, 1999). If the purpose of this study were to conduct factor analysis, principal axis factoring would be the preferred method because it is considered to be a true factor analytic method, it assumes the existence of underlying latent constructs, and it considers the role of measurement error in its solution (Stevens, 1996). Due to the copious number of items in the AARMS-initial and the small pilot

sample, data reduction is needed. Principal components analysis is an adequate data reduction method that assumes no underlying construct and allows the solution to converge more consistently (Stevens, 1996). Thus, principal components analysis was used to help reduce the number of items in the AARMS. Principal components analysis with promax rotation, the proposed rotational method, produced a complicated solution with most items having multiple high loadings. Therefore, the rule for item deletion was set at loadings less than .40 (i.e., retain items with primary loadings higher than .40 and minimal difference of .10 between primary and secondary loadings) based on recommendations found in the literature (Costello & Osborne, 2005; Guadagnoli & Velicer, 1988). Forty-nine out of 130 AARMS-initial items were consequently retained on promax rotation. With the same deletion rule, a varimax rotation produced the same number of retained items but a cleaner solution (i.e., more items having a single high loading) and greater ease of interpretation (Stevens, 1996). Thus, a decision was made to modify the analytical method to principal components analysis with varimax rotation.

Principal components analysis with varimax rotation yielded 4 factors, after retaining 49 items. This 4-factor solution accounted for 56.94% of the total variance. By focusing on the items with the highest and most salient loadings on each factor and the thematic titles found in the D.W. Sue, Bucceri et al. (2007) study, preliminary names were given to the 4 factors (Second Class Citizen, Model Minority, Alien in Own Land, Emasculation of Asian Men). The Second Class Citizen factor comprises 16 items and accounted for 17.2% of the total variance, Model Minority 14 items for 16.3%, Alien in Own Land 13 items for 12.8%, and Emasculation of Asian Men 6 items for 10.7%. These 4 factors yielded reliability coefficients of .93, .93, .90, and .92 respectively. The factor loadings for the final 49 items of the 4 preliminary subscales are presented in Table 6.

Insert Table 6 about Here

The modified version of AARMS (AARMS-modified), consisting of 49 items and same instructions as AARMS-initial, was employed in Study 2. The means and stand deviations of subscales were calculated. Results indicated that racial microaggressions of the Model Minority theme as most frequently encountered by Asian Americans (*M=2.94, SD=.97)*, followed by Alien in Own Land (*M=2.36, SD=.76)*, Emasculation of Asian Men (*M=2.19, SD=1.06),* and Second Class Citizen (*M=2.14, SD=.82)*. The results are presented in Table 6.

Insert Table 7 about Here

Study 2: Exploratory Factor Analysis Study

Overview

The initial factor structure of modified version of AARMS from Study 1 was examined in Study 2. The final version of the AARMS and its subscales were developed through exploratory factor analysis.

Method

Participants. The sample comprised of 347 Asian Americans, 115 male participants (33.1%) and 232 female participants (66.9%). It has been recommended that a sample size of at least 300 for factor analysis is good for factor stability (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). In order to maximize sample diversity and generalizability of results, a broad group of participants in age, ethnicity, generational status, and social class was surveyed. Since first generation participants were included in the sample, language proficiency was surveyed to ensure adequate understanding of survey questions.

The mean age of participants was 31.48 (SD = 10.81). A total of 153 (44.1%) participants self-identified as Chinese, 52 (15%) as Korean, 49 (14.1%) as Taiwanese, 18(5.2%) as Filipino, 18(5.2%) as Japanese, 18(5.2%) as other, 17(4.9%) as Vietnamese, 15(4.3% as East Indian, 3(0.9%) as Singaporean, 2(0.6%) as Thai, 1(0.3%) as Indonesian and 1(0.3%) as Mongolian. Generational status of the sample included 150 participants of first generation (43.2%), 167 of second generation (48.1%), 19 of third generation (5.5%), 8 of fourth generation (2.3%), and 3 of fifth generation or higher (0.9%). Of the 141 first generation participants, the years they have spent in the United States ranged from 6 months to 43 years, with a mean of 18.94 (SD=9.69). Socioeconomic status of participants ranged from working class to upper class: 31 working class (8.9%), 27 lower middle class (7.8%), 173 middle class (49.9%), 104

upper middle class (30%), 12 upper class (3.5%). Language proficiency of participants ranged from a scale of 1-Very Poor to 5-Very Good. With the exception of one participant, 99% of participants rated themselves to have adequate English proficiency (3 =4.6%, 4=12.4%, 5=82.7%). Table 8 lists the descriptive statistics of the exploratory study sample.

Insert Table 8 about Here

Materials. The questionnaire for Study 2 consisted of the same demographic questionnaire used in Study 1 and the AARMS-modified.

Asian American Racial Microaggressions Scale (AARMS-modified). The AARMS-modified comprised of 49 items. The instructions for the AARMS-modified were identical to AARMS-initial.

Procedure. Participant recruitment procedure was similar to that used in Study 1. Participants were recruited from Asian American professional and student listservs, Asian American social websites, and email elicitations. The advertisements for the study included the topic of the study and the URL address of the online survey. The actual survey, consisting of the demographic questionnaire and the AARMS-modified, was posted online. Participants interested in completing the survey were given the URL address of the survey. In the web-based survey, participants were asked to give informed consent after reading a description of the study and understanding that their involvement is voluntary and without compensation.

Results

With a response rate of 83.8%, 56 respondents failed to complete the survey for Study 2. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity showed that nonzero correlations existed, suggesting that Study 2 data would be a suitable candidate for factor analysis. Therefore, principal axis factoring was conducted to test the factor structure of AARMS as per the rationale given in Study 1 results. Identical to the analytical method proposed for Study 1, Principal Axis factoring utilized for this study yielded 10 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0. However, the bend on the scree plot in Figure 2 (Costello & Osborne, 2005; Fabrigar et al., 1999) suggested that only three to five factors are interpretable.

Insert Figure 2 about Here

Since the results from the pilot study also strongly suggested a four-factor solution, a four-factor extraction was determined to be the most interpretable and conceptually meaningful. Using the promax (non-orthogonal) rotational method, a four-factor extraction was forced, accounting for 43.5% of the total variance. With item retention rule set at loadings of .40 or under, 8 items were eliminated, resulting in 41 items for the AARMS-final. Factor names were also revised based on the content of the items.

The first factor accounted for 24.42% of the total variance with 19 items. Based on the content of the items, the subscale was termed Asian Inferior Status (AIS) as it represented an inferior status that is allotted to Asian American predominantly occurring in social/interpersonal situations. Factor 2 accounted for 20.05% of the variance with 11 items and was named Alien in Own Land (AOL) as the items referred to an estrangement from all things American that becomes associated with being Asian. Factor 3 accounted for 18.79% of the total variance with

5 items and was labeled Assumptions of Model Minority (AMM) since it contained items related to the superior status that is accorded the model minority myth. Factor 4 accounted for 17.82% of the total variance with 6 items. This factor was named Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes (ASS) because the items signified a sense of flawed or abnormal quality to the sexuality of Asian American men/women. Reliability coefficients for each of the subscales were .92 .86, .88, and .89 respectively.

The mean subscale scores were computed. According to the results, Assumptions of Model Minority (M = 3.71, SD = 1.13) occurred most frequently followed by Alien in Own Land (M = 3.11, SD = .86), Asian Inferior Status (M = 2.37, SD = .79) and Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes (M = 2.16, SD = .79). The factor loadings for the final 41 items are presented in Table 9, mean subscale scores in Table 10.

Insert Tables 9, 10 about Here

All of the AARMS subscales were positively correlated with each other (ps < .001). The highest correlation was between Alien in Own Land and Asian Inferior Status (r = .65, p < .001), and Alien in Own Land and Assumptions of Model Minority (r = .62, p < .001). Subscale intercorrelations are presented in Table 11.

Insert Table 11 about Here

Due to concerns related to potential differences between native-born Asian Americans versus Asian Americans born outside the United States, group differences were assessed. There was a significant effect for generation status, $t(345) = -2.94$, $p < .004$, with second (and above) generation participants experiencing higher racial microaggressions in Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes subscale than first generation participants. Means and standard deviations of subscales as a function of generation status are presented in Table 12.

Insert Table 12 about Here

Study 3: Validity Analysis Study

Overview

In order to establish the validity of the AARMS from Study 2, Study 3 will conduct additional analyses to establish concurrent validity, discriminant validity through administering additional measures in addition to the final version of the AARMS. The additional measures will be chosen based on their conceptual dissimilarity with the AARMS (discriminant validity) and their conceptual similarity with the AARMS (concurrent validity). For discriminant validity, the SWLS were expected to not correlate with the AARMS scales. For concurrent validity, the PANAS-Negative Affect and the AARRSI were expected to correlate positively with the AARMS scales.

Method

Participants. The validation study sample consisted of 158 Asian Americans. The inclusion/exclusion criteria for participants in Study 3 were identical to those utilized in Study 2. As in Study 2, a broad group of participants were surveyed to increase diversity of sample and thus generalizability of results. Table 13 shows descriptive statistics for the demographic and background characteristics of the validation sample. Most of the participants (70.3%) were female, with Chinese (36.7%), Korean (15.2%), Taiwanese (13.3%) participants making up the largest ethnic groups. Most of the participants reported being second-generation Asian American (63.9%), with 31.0% reporting first-generation status. The participants who were not born in the U.S. reported an average number of years in the U.S. of 14.19 years (SD = 9.03). The most common socio-economic status levels were middle class (43.0%) and upper-middle class (24.7%). Language skills for this sample were good, with 5 being the highest and most

common rating (86.7%). The average age of the participants was 23.9 years old (SD = 6.60 years).

Insert Table 13 about Here

Materials. The questionnaire for Study 3 comprised of the same demographic questionnaire used in Study 1, the final version of the AARMS (Appendix C), the Asian American Racial Discrimination Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI; Appendix E), the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS-General; Appendix F), and the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS; Appendix G).

Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI). The AARRSI assesses the level of race-related stress of the average Asian American (Liang, et al., 2004). This 29-item instrument has demonstrated internal consistency, with an overall alpha of .90 and its 3 underlying subscales (Socio-Historical Racial discrimination, General Racial discrimination, Perpetual Foreigner Racial discrimination) of .82, .75, and .84 respective alphas. The same study (Liang et al., 2004) also found the AARRSI to have concurrent validity with 3 other existing measures of racial discrimination that have been validated on Black Americans: Schedule of Racist Events (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), Perceived Racial discrimination Scale (McNeilly et al., 1996), and Cultural Mistrust Inventory (Terrell & Terrell, 1981). The AARRSI has also been shown to have test-retest reliability (Liang, et al., 2004).

Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) - General Form. A widely used scale that assesses emotional experiences, the PANAS-General consists of 20 items, 10 on Positive Affect

and 10 on Negative Affect (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Participants are instructed to rate the extent to which they feel each of the mood adjectives on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*Very slightly or not at all*) to 5 (*Extremely*). High reliability coefficients have generally been reported for both the Positive Affect subscale (.83 to .90) and the Negative Affect subscale (.85 to .90).

Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS). Well-developed and cross-culturally validated for many populations and translated into various languages, the Satisfaction With Life Scale measures the respondent's satisfaction with life as a whole (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985). The SWLS is a 5-item scale on a 7-point Likert-type scale that appears to have good convergent validity with other measures related to subjective well-being yet discriminate from emotional well-being scales. With adequate temporal stability, the SWLS has also demonstrated sensitivity to changes in life satisfaction during clinical interventions.

Procedure. Participants were recruited from advertisements posted on college campuses on the West Coast. The advertisements for the study included the topic of the study and the URL address of the online survey. The demographic questionnaire, the AARMS, the AARRSI, the PANAS, and the SWLS were posted online. Participants interested in completing the survey were given the URL address of the survey. In the web-based survey, participants were asked to give informed consent after reading a description of the study. In this study, participants were given the opportunity to partake in a lottery for chances to win two $50 VISA certificates. Participants were also asked if they are willing to participate in the follow-up study of test-retest reliability in two weeks. Those interested were asked to type in their email address as sign of consent and means of contact.

Results

With a response rate of 81.0%, thirty participants did not complete the survey for Study 3. Descriptive statistics for the composite scores for the validation sample are shown in Table 14. Of primary importance in this table are the reliability coefficients for internal consistency assessment. High reliability coefficients of individual subscales will indicate the distinctiveness of each subscale. For the AARMS subscales, the reliability coefficients ranged from .82 (for Alien in Own Land) to .93 (for the Total AARMS score). For the subscales used in the validity analysis, reliability coefficients ranged from .80 (for the Perpetual Foreigner scale from the AARRSI) to .93 (for the Total score from the AARRSI). Thus, all measures used in the validity study demonstrated good reliability.

Insert Table 14 about Here

Table 15 contains the intercorrelations among the four AARMS subscales and the overall AARMS scale. High correlations can be viewed as subscales being related to one another as well as being highly representative of the Asian American experience with racial microaggressions. All of the correlations were positive and statistically significant ($ps < .001$). The four highest correlations were between the subscales and the overall AARMS scale, ranging from .66 (for the correlation between Assumptions of Model Minority and Total AARMS) and .86 (for the correlation between Asian Inferior Status and Total AARMS scores). The correlations among the subscales ranged from .34 (for the correlation between Asian Inferior Status and Assumptions of Model Minority) to .58 (for the correlation between Asian Inferior Status and Alien in Own Land).

Insert Table 15 about Here

The validity correlations between the AARMS scales and the scales from the AARRSI, SWLS, and PANAS, establishing concurrent and discriminant validity, are shown in Table 16. All of the AARMS scales were positive correlated with all of the AARRSI scale, demonstrating concurrent validity (*p*s < .01 or .001). The highest correlation was between the overall AARMS scale and the Total score from the AARRSI (r = .64, p < .001). Asian Inferior Status scores from the AARMS showed correlations with the AARRSI scales ranging from .49 (for AARRSI General scores) to .61 (for AARSI Total scores). Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes scores from the AARMS showed correlations between .34 (for the AARRSI Perpetual Foreigner scale) to .45 (with both the AARRSI Total score and the AARRSI Social-Historical score). Assumptions of Model Minority scores were somewhat less strongly correlated with the AARRSI scales than the other AARMS scales, with correlations ranging from .23 (with AARRSI General scores) to .27 (with all three other AARRSI scales). Alien in Own Land scores had correlations with the AARRSI scores between .40 (for AARRSI General scores) to .46 (with AARRSI Perpetual Foreigner scores). Total AARMS scores were most strongly correlated with the AARRSI scores, with values ranging from .42 (for the correlation with AARRSI General scores) to .64 (for the correlation with AARRSI Total scores). Asian Inferior Status scores were positive correlated with PANAS Negative Affect scores (r = .35, p < .001). Total AARMS scores were positive correlated with PANAS Negative Affect scores (r = .29, p < .001). Assumptions of Model Minority scores were positively correlated with both the PANAS Negative (r = .16, p < .05) and

the PANAS Positive ($r = .18$, $p < .05$). None of the other AARMS subscales correlated significantly with the PANAS-Positive Affect.

In terms of discriminant validity, Table 16 shows the correlations between the AARMS scores and SWLS scores. None of these correlations were statistically significant. However, all of the correlations were close to zero, which supports discriminant validity.

Insert Table 16 about Here

The primary conclusions from the validity study of the AARMS scales were that:

1. All five of the AARMS scales demonstrated good internal consistency reliability in the validation sample.
2. Concurrent validity of the five AARMS scales was shown through positive correlations with the AARRSI scales.
3. All five AARMS scales demonstrated discriminant validity with the SWLS: AARMS scores were uncorrelated with life satisfaction scores from the SWLS.
4. Three of the five AARMS scales showed concurrent validity with respect to the PANAS scales: *Asian Inferior Status* scores were positive correlated with PANAS-Negative scores; *Assumptions of Model Minority* scores were positively correlated with both the PANAS-Negative and the PANAS-Positive; and Total AARMS scores were positively correlated with PANAS-Negative scores.

Study 4: Test-Retest Reliability Study

Overview

In accordance with the scale development procedure, the purpose of study 4 is to establish the reliability of the AARMS over time.

Method

Participants. The participants that agreed to be retested in two weeks in Study 3 were the pool of respondents in this study.

Materials. The survey to be used in Study 4 consisted of the demographic questionnaire and the AARMS from Study 3.

Procedures. Same as Study 3, including two chances to win $50 VISA certificates. The demographic questionnaire, the AARMS, the AARRSI, the PANAS, and the SWLS were posted online. Participants interested in completing the survey were given the URL address of the survey. In the web-based survey, participants were asked to give informed consent after reading a description of the study. Participants in this study gave additional consent to having their responses match to those they gave in Study 3.

Results

With a response rate of 86.4%, 8 respondents failed to complete the survey for Study 4. Test-retest reliability coefficients (coefficients of stability) for the final version of the AARMS from Study 3 (including all subscale scores) were computed on a subsample of 59 of the participants from the validation sample. Most of the participants (74.6%) were female, with Chinese (37.3%), Taiwanese (16.9%), and Korean (11.9%) participants making up the largest ethnic groups. Most of the participants reported being second-generation Asian American (57.6%), with 39.0% reporting first-generation status. The participants who were not born in the

U.S. reported an average number of years in the U.S. of 14.02 years (SD = 8.11). The most common socio-economic status levels were middle class (37.3%) and lower/upper-middle class (25.4%). Language skills for this sample were good, with 5 being the highest and most common rating (84.7%). The average age of the participants was 23.9 years old (SD = 6.06 years). Table 17 shows the descriptive statistics of the reliability sample (*N=59*).

Insert Table 17 about Here

Table 18 shows the test-retest reliability results. The AARMS scores all demonstrated a high level of test-retest reliability, ranging from .78 (for Assumptions of Model Minority) to .92 (for Asian Inferior Status). All of the test-retest correlations were statistically significant (*p*s < .001).

Insert Table 18 about Here

Chapter IV: Discussion

Overview

The goal of this dissertation was to develop and initially validate a racial microaggressions scale for Asian Americans. In short, this study sought to: (a) construct a systematic way of measuring racial microaggression directed against Asian Americans, (b) further develop the construct of racial microaggressions, and (c) bring awareness regarding modern day racial discrimination against Asian Americans.

Summary

A valid and reliable measure assessing the racial microaggressions experienced by Asian Americans was constructed from review of existing literature (Sue, Bucceri et al., 2007; Liang et al., 2004) and pre-existing focus group transcripts, input from experts in the field, a Likert-type response scale, and well-researched methodology. An exploratory factor analytic method yielded a four-factor structure with 41 items out of the initial 159 pool of items. The four-factor structure accounted for 43.5% of the total variance. The final 4 factors included *Asian Inferior Status* (AIS; 19 items), *Assumptions of Model Minority* (AMM; 5 items), *Alien in Own Land* (AOL; 11 items), and *Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes* (ASS; 6 items). Each of these factors represents a subscale in the AARMS and a dimension of the racial microaggressions potentially experienced by an Asian American individual.

The AARMS subscale, *Asian Inferior Status* represented an inferior status that is given Asian Americans in predominantly social/interpersonal situations. The *Assumptions of Model Minority* subscale contained items related to common stereotypes of the model minority myth. *Alien in Own Land* focused on an estrangement from all things American as the quality of being Asian is emphasized; as if being American and being Asian are diametrically opposed. *Aberrant*

Sexual Stereotypes was comprised of items that reflected a sense of flawed or abnormal quality to the sexuality of Asian American men/women.

All the overall AARMS scales (overall scale, ARMS subscale) demonstrated high statistical reliability coefficients ranging from .82 to .93 in Study 1, 2, and 3. Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients from Study 2 and 3 also indicate the four AARMS subscales correlating significantly with each other, ranging from .44 to .65 in Study 2 and from .34 to .58 in Study 3. The medium to moderately high correlations found between the subscales may be indicative of the conceptual commonality and assumed correlations across the subscales, which are statistically accounted for in the utilization of PFA and promax rotational method.

Despite the slightly different age groups and different generational statuses that were sampled across Study 2 and 3, there is considerable corroboration between the results of the two studies. For example, the two highest correlations among the AARMS subscales from Study 2 and 3 are between *Asian Inferior Status* and *Alien in Own Land*, and between *Assumptions of Model Minority* and *Alien in Own Land*. Given the content of these factors, high correlations are not surprising. For example, being perceived as a foreigner on one's own soil (*Alien in Own Land*) will make one feel inferior (*Asian Inferior Status*) because one is being excluded from the camaraderie that comes naturally to those who belong to the same country and nationality (i.e., "You were told that you speak "good English," "Someone assumed that you were not born in the United States," "You were asked, "Did you grow up here?"). As being American is associated to being White (DeVos & Banaji, 2005), being Asian makes it impossible to be American. Thus, being an American becomes an issue of race, not place of birth or citizenship. This false assumption makes it impossible for Asians to be American, and therefore, subordinates them (i.e., "You were given the message that you were "not American enough" under *Asian Inferior*

Status). It is also not surprising that being perceived as a model minority (*Assumptions of Model Minority*) will invoke themes of being the perpetual foreigner (*Alien in Own Land*), as many of the model minority assumptions have originated from the idea that Asians are foreigners on American soil and have worked hard to attain the American dream (S. Sue, 1999) (i.e., "It was assumed that you are a hard worker," "Someone assumed that you study hard," "Someone assumed that you are successful" under *Assumptions of Model Minority*). Though not particularly highly correlated with any of the other subscales, *Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes* is also related to *Asian Inferior Status* in that being perceived as "sexually impotent," "unattractive," "freaks in bed" are all derogatory and makes one feel less than. Thus, the AARMS subscales can all be construed as more or less related to each other in qualitatively different ways, though each significant in its own right in representing an important aspect of contemporary prejudice against Asian Americans.

Given the more-than-adequate internal consistencies and intercorrelations of subscales, it is recommended to include all 4 subscales of the AARMS in assessing racial microaggressions experienced by the Asian American population. Since each subscale emphasizes a potentially important aspect of the racial microaggressions experience of an Asian American individual, it would be interesting to see if all four apply to a particular respondent and examine how that particular person's experience differs from the general Asian American population. As the scale is memory and experience-dependent, it is conceivable that scores may shift as different memories and past experiences are primed for the respondent.

Evidence for concurrent validity of the AARMS was shown through positive correlations with the AARRSI, another racism scale for Asian Americans. All of the AARMS subscales and the overall AARMS scale were found to be significantly and positively correlated with the

AARRSI and its subscales. Further concurrent validity of the AARMS was found with respect to the PANAS-Negative. Three of the five AARMS scales (*Asian Inferior Status*, *Assumptions of Model Minority*, and Total AARMS) were positively correlated with the PANAS-Negative, an emotions scale focusing on negative affect. Since PANAS-Negative Affect included many of the negative emotions that have been traditionally associated with racism and discrimination, such as distressed, ashamed, upset, nervous (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), it is not surprising that the PANAS-Negative correlated with some of the AARMS subscales. It is completely understandable for an Asian American individual to feel upset, distressed, and ashamed after encountering race-based incident that makes him/her feel inferior.

It is more interesting to note that the *Assumptions of Model Minority* subscale of the AARMS was also positively correlated with the PANAS-Positive, an emotions scale assessing positive affect. Despite the possibility that *Assumptions of Model Minority* correlated most weakly with all the validity scales, suggesting that it may be the weakest link in the AARMS. The weaker correlations may be due to the more positive phrasing of the items in the *Assumptions of Model Minority* subscale. However, the content of this subscale is seemingly more positive than other Asian stereotypes, highlighting the predicament Asian Americans are in when navigating the world of racial microaggressions. Thus, it is important and interesting to understand that being pegged as a model minority can invoke conflicting ambivalent feelings in an Asian American. To be associated with such a label may make an Asian American feel proud, strong, and inspired while simultaneously feeling ashamed, guilty, and afraid. Having to negotiate and be reconciled with good and bad emotions at the same time may be quite difficult for an Asian American. This finding also lends support to the idea that being perceived positively can sometimes be detrimental, which has been one of the arguments for debunking the

model minority myth (Takaki, 1989). This is a particularly important aspect of racial microaggressions to note for Asian Americans, as it is a prejudice and stereotype unique to Asian Americans (Delucchi & Do, 1996).

Further support for concurrent validity was found in the nonsignificant correlations between the PANAS-Positive and most of the AARMS scales (Asian Inferior Status, Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes, Alien in Own Land, Total AARMS). In sum, all of the AARMS scales except for Assumptions of Model Minority failed to correlate significantly with the PANAS-Positive. The expected result would be for PANAS-Positive Affect to be negatively correlated with the AARMS subscales as research has shown racism to be related to negative emotions and not positive feelings (Solorzano et al, 2000). As indicated by the multiple subscales of the AARMS, it is arguable that racial microaggressions is a multifaceted construct. With the complexity that is inherent in such a construct, there is much yet to understand about its effects.

Evidence for discriminant validity was also demonstrated due to a lack of significant correlations between any of the five AARMS scales and the SWLS, a life satisfaction scale. Though racial microaggressions affect the emotions of its recipients, it may not affect other constructs such as life satisfaction. Perhaps an Asian American individual can feel affected by encountering racial microaggressions without letting it affect his/her core sense of fulfillment with life. It may be that other factors such as racial identity for Asian Americans may serve as mediating or moderating factors against racism (Alvarez, 2008) so that experiencing a racial microaggressive incident does not affect the deeper issues and values of life.

Mean subscale scores signify the extent to which the factors or subscales are represented in the overall racial microaggressions experience for an Asian American individual. With mean scores falling into the lower middle to upper middle range of the 1 to 6 point Likert-scale across

Study 1, 2, and 3. *Assumptions of Model Minority* yielded the highest mean subscale scores followed by *Alien in Own Land.* This commonality found across all three studies suggests that Asian Americans do experience racial microaggressive themes of *Assumptions of Model Minority*, more frequently than any other theme, with *Alien in Own Land* following as a close second. Given the survey of Asian American racism literature, two of the most pervasive stereotype of Asian Americans is the model minority as well as the perpetual foreigner (Lee, Wong & Alvarez, 2008; Tuan, 1998). Also, as stated above, there is considerable conceptual overlap between these two factors. Given these two reasons, it is not surprising that they are most frequently encountered for an Asian American individual.

This commonality was evident despite the slight difference in age groups and generational statuses sampled across studies, which lends further support to the validity of the results. This finding also highlighted the considerable similarity found in the racial microaggressions experienced by Asian Americans, regardless of generational status (Espiritu, 1992, Min, 1995). On a related note, the only group difference found between first and other generational status was the significantly higher means scored by native born Americans versus first generation participants. However, no significant difference was found in any of the other three AARMS subscales.

The mean subscale scores for *Asian Inferior Status* and *Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes* were not vastly different from one another across the different studies conducted though *Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes* is more frequently encountered than *Asian Inferior Status* in Study 2 and the reverse was found for Study 3. The slight difference may be due to small age difference found across samples for Study 2 versus Study 3. It is conceivable that microaggressive theme of *Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes* is more obvious to, or more frequently experienced for, a sample of

a younger age group and/or native born Asian Americans. This developmental, age-related emphasis may not be as important or relevant for an older sample, in which case the theme of Asian Inferior Status became more frequently experienced.

Test-retest reliability was conducted with an adequate sample size (N = 59) as a standard procedure for scale construction, to assess whether the AARMS is stable over time. Through exploratory in nature, the stability coefficients for all of the AARMS scales were moderately high (ranging from .78 to .92) across a two weeks test-retest period. Since the respondents were asked to rate their experience with racial microaggressions based on their past experience in its totality and not constrained by any time periods, it is conceivable for their responses to remain stable over time. Thus, scores on the first and second test administrations were highly correlated for all the AARMS scales.

Limitations

This exploratory study has a number of limitations. First, with the exception of study 1, samples from the other 3 studies consist of predominantly East Asians. Despite efforts to recruit Southeast Asian participants in representing the diversity of the Asian American racial group, more East Asian Americans responded to the survey. It would have been interesting to investigate inter-ethnic group differences in the responses, which may distinguish any potential ethnic differences in how racial microaggressions is experienced within the pan-Asian group.

Second, other demographic factors such as age, gender, and years of stay in the United States were not intentionally examined in this study due to its main objective being scale construction and preliminary validation. For example, the mean age of participants was considerably younger in study 3 and 4 versus the two prior studies. Also, like most studies in psychology, responses from female participants tend to outweigh those of their male counterparts

since women have traditionally been more responsive to research surveys. To examine the ratio of years of stay in the United States of particular first generation participants to their actual age may also shed conceptual light on if indeed these first generation participants may actually be more similar to native-born participants than revealed at first glance. In other words, generational status of Asian Americans may not have as much influence on their experience of racial microaggressions as one may speculate. In sum, it would be interesting to examine the demographic correlates of racial microaggressions for future studies. The ways in which these demographic variables could have influenced participant responses of racial microaggressions and/or current study results need to be examined in the future. On a separate yet related note, another recommendation for future studies is to examine whether the same factor structure would be yielded across the different demographic groups.

Third, there was no in-depth development on the correlation between specific affective states and racial microaggressive incidents. Based on the results of this study, it is clear that certain racial microaggressions have a negative effect on the emotions of the recipients. However, the mechanism by which these racial microaggressions affect specific emotional states is unclear, which is important to elucidate in order to devise effective coping strategies for the recipients of racial microaggressions. It also may be noteworthy to study the microaggressions (i.e., *Assumptions of Model Minority*) that invoke conflicting emotions to understand the functionality and effect of these microaggressive incidents.

Fourth, it may also be interesting to examine how racial microaggressions, as construed by the AARRMS, is qualitatively different from other concepts or scales of contemporary racism for this population (i.e., AARRSI) as it was not specifically studied in this dissertation project. For example, compared to the other AARMS subscales, the *Assumptions of Model Minority*

subscale was correlated significantly but with relatively low correlations with the AARRSI scales. A cursory glance of the AARRSI items revealed that none of the AARRSI items focused on commonly held stereotypes or assumptions of model minority. As literature repeatedly highlights the pervasiveness of this stereotype against Asian Americans (Lee et al., 2008; Tuan, 1998) and the connection between stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination (Banaji & Dasgupta, 1998; Jones, 1997), it is imperative for a scale assessing discrimination directed against Asian Americans to include such items. Other differences between the AARMS and the AARRSI may be uncovered upon more in-depth examination.

Fifth, this study did not attempt to make a distinction between direct versus indirect incidents of microaggressions, if there is any to be made. According to Harrell (2000), first-hand experience with discrimination, and one's conclusion from experiencing such a racial incident, may be quite different from one's direct observation or vicarious experience with a similar event. Thus, it remains to be seen whether making a distinction between direct versus vicarious experience with contemporary racism would add to the conceptualization of racial microaggressions and/or change the item content of AARMS. Likewise, asking participants to recall the racial microaggressions they have experienced in the past may tap into their memory of events rather than the actual events. On the other hand, it may be more important to assess their memory of microaggressions than examining actual incidents if the researcher is more concerned with the potential effects of racial microaggressions for the recipients, as is the aim of this dissertation.

Sixth, there are a few possible methodological limitations to this study. The participant to item ratio in the pilot study does not seem adequate, particularly given that it reduced the initial pool of items by two thirds. However, the exploratory study (Study 2) also yielded the

same number of factors and same items within each factor with a similarly high alpha coefficient even after utilizing a different analytical method. Also, statistics similar to those in Study 1 were found in Study 3 and 4. Statistics seem to repeatedly attest to the validity of the preliminary factor analytic results of the pilot study despite any potential methodological issues. Also, the AARMS utilized a Likert-type scale that asks respondents to select 1 if they have never had this racial microaggressive incident happen to them and 2 to 5 depending on the frequency of occurrence. This scaling system is arguably measuring 2 completely separate constructs, which may be potentially problematic. However, it is based on seminal work in the area of scale construction on discrimination against Asian Americans (Liang et al., 2004) and appeared adequate for the purposes of this study. Future research on this topic and this population are suggested to study and/or analyze the 2 constructs separately. Finally, another suggestion for future studies is to further establish reliability and validity of the scale through confirmatory factor analysis, given the a priori assumptions (expected number and thematic content of factors) have already been elucidated from the results of this study (Garson, 2006).

Implications

As a part of a subfield of contemporary racism that is in its infancy stage of conceptualization and empirical validation, the AARMS has tremendous utility value in helping researchers, educators, and the general American population gain a greater understanding of the inner workings of racial microaggressions for Asian Americans. As such, the AARMS seems to highlight the importance of including the model minority myth in any conceptualization of racism against Asian Americans, due to the complexity of experiencing and being treated in accordance with this myth. The inclusion of the model minority myth also points to the unique contribution of AARMS to the literature in comparison to the AARRSI. The AARMS also

enables a better understanding of racial microaggressions theory and the racism perpetrated against the Asian American population: (a) Asian Americans do encounter racial discrimination, (b) racial microaggressions perpetrated against Asian Americans tend to fall under the categories of microinsults and microinvalidations as they are more subtle in nature, and (c) there are certain microaggressive themes that are experienced uniquely by Asian Americans (such as Assumptions of Model Minority). More theoretical implications will arise as more research is conducted in testing the general racial microaggressions theory and more scales are constructed for different races in enabling cross-comparison of similar and unique themes/incidents amongst diverse racial groups.

As stated in the Discussion section, future studies can further establish the validity and reliability of the AARMS while remedying some of the aforementioned limitation issues (i.e., sample size, ethnic diversity of sample, scaling system): (a) inter-ethnic differences, (b) influence of demographic variables, (c) the relationship between affect and specific racial microaggressive incidents, (d) differences between racial microaggressions and other concepts of contemporary racism against Asian Americans, (e) distinction between direct versus indirect discrimination, and (f) utilizing confirmatory factor analysis in further validating the AARMS. The AARMS may also be used to educate the general American public regarding the prevalence of racial microaggressions in the lives of many Asian Americans, and further the effort of dismantling the model minority myth.

In clinical settings, practitioners can also use the scale to assess the extent and frequency in which Asian American clients may be struggling with racial microaggressions on a daily basis. Simply having an instrument assessing Asian American encounters with contemporary racism legitimizes the racial experience of Asian American clients. The results of the AARMS

can also be utilized to give context to the client's situation and life struggles while giving clinicians a point of entry into discussing racial issues in the client's life as well as the therapeutic relationship. Knowing the items of the AARMS would also detract clinicians from inadvertently perpetrate racial microaggressions against their Asian American clients, in addition to helping their clients process their feelings and thoughts related to specific microaggressive encounters. Finally, armed with a greater understanding will clinicians be able to devise appropriate coping strategies and effective tools for their clients facing daily stressors of racial microaggressions.

Conclusion

This dissertation attempted at developing the first scale of its kind. The AARMS was constructed with the hope that it will help researchers, educators, and clinicians gain knowledge of how Asian Americans experience modern manifestations of racism and discrimination. As such, the development and initial validation of the AARMS makes a unique contribution to the literature on prejudice/discrimination against Asians Americans and urge further investigation on the concept and empirical evidence of racial microaggressions.

References

Alvarez, A. (2008). Racism Isn't Fair. In Nita Tewari & Alvin N. Alvarez (Eds.), *Asian American Psychology: Current perspectives* (pp. 300-420). Psychology Press.

Asamen, J. K., & Berry, G. L. (1987). Self-concept, alienation, and perceived prejudice: Implications for counseling Asian Americans. . *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *15*, 146-160.

Banaji, M. R., & Dasgupta, N. (1998). The Consciousness of social beliefs: A program of research on stereotyping and prejudice. In V. Y. Yzerbyt, G. Lories, & B. Dardenne (Eds.), *Metacognition: Cognitive and social dimensions* (pp.157-170). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Banaji, M. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (1991). Implicit stereotyping and prejudice. In M. P. Zanna & J. Olson (Eds.), *The psychology of prejudice: The Ontario Symposium, volume 7* (pp. 55-76). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bell, D. A. (1985, July 15). The triumph of Asian-Americans: America's greatest success story. *New Republic*, 22, 42-21.

Broman, C.L. (1997). Race-related factors and life satisfaction among African Americans. *Journal of Black Psychology, 23*(1), 36-49.

Cabezas, A., & Kawaguchi, G. (1988). Empirical evidence for continuing Asian American income inequality: The human capital model and labor market segmentation. In G. Y. Okihiro, S. Hune, A. A. Hansen, & J. M. Liu (Eds.), *Reflections on shattered windows: Promises and prospects for Asian American studies* (pp. 144-164). Pullman: Washington State University Press.

Chan, S. (1989, November/December). Beyond the affirmative action: Empowering Asian American faculty. *Change*, pp. 48-51.

Chan, S. (1991). *Asian Americans: An interpretive history.* Boston: Twayne.

Chin, D. (1994, August 1). Unspoiled Asian woman? Bah! *Los Angeles Times*, p. B11.

Constantine, M.G. & Sue, D.W. (2007). Perceptions of Racial Microaggressions Among Black Supervisees in Cross-Racial Dyads. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*(2),142-153.

Costello, A.B., & Osborne, J.W. (2005). Best practices in exploratory factor analysis: Four recommendations for getting the most from your analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation, 10*(7), 1-9.

Crocker, L., & Algina, J. (1986). *Introduction to Classical and Modern Test*

Theory. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Crocker, J. & Quinn, D. (1998). Racism and self-esteem. In J.L. Eberhardt & S.T. Fiske (Eds.), *Confronting racism: The problem and the response* (pp. 169-187). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

David, E.J. & Okazaki, S. (2006). The Colonial Mentality Scale (CMS) for Filipino Americans: Scale construction and psychological implications. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 53*(2), 241-252.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (1992). Images of the outsider in American law and culture: Can free expression remedy systemic social ills? *Cornell Law Review, 77*, 1258-1297.

Delucchi, M., & Do, H. D. (1996). The model minority myth and perceptions of Asian-Americans as victims of racial harassment. *College Student Journal, 30(3),* 411-414.

DeVellis, R. F. (2003). Scale Development: Theory and Application (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

DeVos, T., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). American = White? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88,* 447–466.

Diener, E., Emmons, R.A., Larsen, R.J, & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 49*(1), 71-75.

Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (1998). On the nature of contemporary prejudice: The causes, consequences, and challenges of aversive racism. In J. Eberhardt & S. T. Fiske (Eds.), *Confronting racism: The problem and the response* (pp. 3-32). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2000). Aversive racism and selective decisions: 1989-1999. *Psychological Science, 11*, 315-319.

Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Kawakami, K., & Hodson, G. (2002). Why can't we just get along? Interpersonal biases and interracial distrust. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 8*(2), 88-102.

Dovidio, J. F., Mann, J., & Gaertner, S. L. (1989). Resistance to affirmative action: The implications of aversive racism. In F. Blanchard & F. Crosby (Eds.), *Affirmative action in perspective* (pp. 81-102). New York: Springer-Verlag.

Dovidio, J. F., Smith, J. K., Donnella, A. G., & Gaertner, S. L. (1997). Racial attitudes and the death penalty. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 27*( ), 1468-1487.

Espiritu, Y. L. (1992). *Asian American panethnicity.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Espiritu, Y. L. (1997). *Asian American women and men.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Essed, P. (1991). Understanding everyday racism. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Fabrigar, L.R., Wegener, D.T., MacCallum, R.C., & Strahan, E.J. (1999). Evaluating the use of exploratory factor analysis in psychological research. *Psychological Methods, 4*(3), 272-299.

Farley, R. (1977). Trends in racial inequalities: Have the gains of the 1960's disappeared in the 1970's? *American Sociological Review, 42,* 189-208.

Fireside, H. (2004). *Separate and Unequal: Homer Plessy and the Supreme Court Decision That Legalized Racism*. Carroll & Graf: New York.

Gaertner, S. L. & Dovidio, J. F. (1977). The subtlety of white racism, arousal, and helping behavior. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 35, 691-707.

Gaertner, S. L. & Dovidio, J. F. (1986). The aversive form of racism. In J.F. Dovidio & S.L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 61-89). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Gaertner, S. L. & McLaughlin, J. P. (1983). Racial stereotypes: Associations and ascriptions of positive and negative characteristics. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 46*(1), 23-30.

Greenwald, A. G., Poehlman, T. A., Uhlmann, E., & Banaji, M. R. (2009). Understanding and using the Implicit Association Test: III. Meta-analysis of predictive validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 97*, 17-41.

Griffin, J.H. (1996). *Black Like Me*. Signet: New York.

Guadagnoli, E., & Velicer, W. F. (1988). Relation of sample size to the stability of component patterns. *Psychological Bulletin, 103*, 265-275.

Harrell, S. P. (2000). A multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress: Implications for the well-being of people of color. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 70*, 42–57.

Henry, P. J. & Sears, D. O. (2002). The symbolic racism 2000 scale. *Political Psychology, 23*(2), 253-283.

Hill, E. L. & Pfeifer, J. E. (1992). Nullification instructions and juror guilt ratings: An examination of modern racism. *Contemporary Social Psychology, 16*(1-2), 6-10.

Hinton, E.I. (2004, March/April). Microinequities: when small slights lead to huge problems in the workplace. *DiversityInc*, 79-82.

Hughes, M., D. H. Demo. 1989. "Self-Perceptions of Black Americans: Self-Esteem and Personal Efficacy." *American Journal of Sociology, 95*, 132-159.

Hune, S. (1995). Rethinking race: Paradigms and policy formation. *Amerasia Journal, 21*(1&2), 29-40.

Hune, S., & Chan, K. S. (1997). Special focus: Asian Pacific American demographic and educational trends. In D. J. Carter & R. Wilson (Eds.), *Minorities in higher education: Fifteenth annual status report* (pp. 39-67). Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

Hurh, W. M., & Kim, K. C. (1989). The "success" image of Asian Americans: Its validity, and its practical and theoretical implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 12*, 512-537.

Iwamoto, D. K. & Liu, W. M. (2009). Asian American men and Asianized attribution: Intersections of masculinity, race, and sexuality. In N. Tewari & A. Alvarez (Eds.), *Asian American Psychology: Current perspectives* (pp. 211-232). New York, NY: Erlbaum.

Johnson, J.D., Whitestone, E., Jackson, L.E., & Gatto, L. (1995). Justice is still not color-blind: Differential racial effects of exposure to inadmissible evidence. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 21*( ), 893-898.

Johnson, S.L. (1988). Unconscious racism and the criminal law. *Cornell Law Review, 73*, 1016-1037.

Jones, J.M. (1997). *Prejudice and Racism (2nd ed.).* Washington D.C.: McGraw-Hill.

Kawai, Y. (2005). Stereotyping Asian Americans: The dialectic of the model minority and the yellow peril. *The Howard Journal of Communications, 16*, 109-130.

Kessler, R.C., Michelson, K.D., & Williams, D.R. (1999). The prevalence, distribution, and mental health correlates of perceived discrimination in the United States. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 40*, 208-230.

Kim, B.S.K., Atkinson, D.R., & Yang, P.H. (1999). The Asian Values Scale: Development, factor analysis, validation, and reliability. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 46*( ), 342-353.

Kim, J. G. S. (2002). Racial perceptions and psychological well being in Asian and Hispanic Americans. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 63(2-B)*, 1033B.

Kinder, D. R., & Sanders, L. M. (1996). *Divided by color: racial politics and democratic ideals.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kitano, H. H. L., & Daniels, R. (1988). *Asian Americans: Emerging minorities.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Kleinpenning, G. & Hagendoorn, L. (1993). Forms of racism and the cumulative dimension of ethnic attitudes. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 56,* 21-36.

Kline, B. B., & Dovodio, J. F. (1982, April). *Effects of race, sex, and qualifications on predictions of a college applicant's performance.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Eastern Psychological Association, Baltimore.

Klonoff, E.A., Landrine, H., & Ullman, J.B. (1999). Racial Discrimination and Psychiatric Symptoms among Blacks. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 5*(4), 329-339.

Kluegel, J. R., & Smith, E. R. (1983). Affirmative action attitudes. Effects of self-interest, racial affect, and stratification beliefs on whites' views. *Social Forces, 61*(3), 797-824.

Landrine, H., & Klonoff, E. A. (1996). The schedule of racist events: A measure of racial discrimination and a study of its negative physical and mental health consequences. . *Journal of Black Psychology*, *22*, 144-168.

Lawrence, C. (1987). The id, the ego, and equal protection: Reckoning with unconscious racism. *Stanford Law Review, 39*, 317-388.

Lee, S. J., Wong, N-W. A., & Alvarez. A. (2008). The Model Minority and the Perpetual Foreigner: Stereotypes of Asian Americans. In Nita Tewari & Alvin N. Alvarez (Eds.), *Asian American Psychology: Current perspectives* (pp. 69-84). Psychology Press.

Leets, L. (2003). Disentangling perceptions of subtle racist speech: A cultural perspective. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 22*(2), 145-168.

Liang, C. T. H., Li, L. C., & Kim, B. S. K. (2004). The Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory: Development, factor analysis, reliability, and validity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51,* 103-114.

Liebkind, K., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2000). The influence of experiences of discrimination on psychological stress: A comparison of seven immigrant groups. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 10*(1), 1-16.

Lin, A.I. (2010). Racial Microaggressions Directed at Asian Americans: Modern Forms of Prejudice and Discrimination. In D.W. Sue (Ed.), *Microaggressions and Marginalized Groups in Society: Race, Gender, Sexual Orientation, Class and Religious Manifestations.* John Wiley and Sons.

Loo, C.M., Fairbank, J.A., Scurfield, R.M., Ruch, L.O., King, D.W., Adams, L.J., & Chemtob, C.M. (2001). Measuring exposure to racism: Development and validation of a Race-Related Stressor Scale (RRSS) for Asian American Vietnam veterans. Psychological Assessment, 13 ( ), 503-520.

Lott, J. T. (1998). *Asian Americans: From Racial Category to Multiple Identities.* Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.

Lyman, S.M. (2000). The "yellow peril" mystique: Origins and vicissitudes of a racist discourse. *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society, 13*(4), 683-747.

McConahay, J.B. (1982). Self-interest versus racial attitudes as correlates of anti-busing attitudes in Louisville: Is it the buses or the blacks? *Journal of Politics, 44*( ), 692-720.

McConahay, J.B. (1983). Modern racism and modern discrimination: The effects of race, racial attitudes, and context of simulated hiring decisions. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin, 9*(4), 551-558.

McConahay, J.B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale. In J. F. Dovidio, & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination and racism,* (pp. 91-126). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

McConahay, J. & Hough, J. (1976). Symbolic racism. *Journal of Social Issues, 32*, 23-45.

McNeilly, M. D., Anderson, N. B., Armstead, C. A., Clark, R., Corbett, M., Robinson, E. L., et al. (1996). The Perceived Racism scale: A multidimensional assessment of the experience of White racism among Black Americans. . *Ethnicity and Disease*, *6*, 154-166.

Migetz, D. Z. (2004). Reassessing the modern racism scale in modern times (Doctoral dissertation. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 65*(4-B), 2148.

Min, P. G. (Ed.). (1995). *Asian Americans: Contemporary trends and issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium. (2002). *Backlash: When America Turned on its Own* . Los Angeles : National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium.

Nee, V., & Sanders, J. (1985). The road to parity: Determinants of the socioeconomic achievements of Asian-Americans. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 8,* 75-93.

Okihiro, G. (1994). *Margins and mainstreams: Asians in American history and culture.*

Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Osaijima, K. (1988). Asian-Americans as the model minority: An analysis of the popular press image in the 1960's and 1980's. In G. Y. Okihiro, S. Hune, A. A. Hansen, & J. M. Liu (Eds.), *Reflections on shattered windows: Promises and prospects for Asian-American studies* (pp. 81-91). Pullman: Washington State University Press.

Pettigrew, T.F. (1975). *Racial discrimination in the United States.* New York: Harper & Row.

Pettigrew, T.F. (1979). Racial change and social policy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 441,* 114-131.

Pfeifer, J. E., & Berstein, D. J. (2003). Expressions of modern racism in judgments of others: The role of task and target specificity on attributions of guilt. *Social Behavior & Personality, 31*(8), 749-766.

Pfeifer, J. E., & Ogloff, J. R. P. (2003). Mock juror ratings of guilt in Canada: Modern racism and ethnic heritage. *Social Behavior & Personality, 31*(3), 301-312.

Pierce, C., Carew, J., Pierce-Gonzalez, D., & Willis, D. (1978). An experiment in racism: TV commercials. In C. Pierce (Ed.), *Television and Education* (pp.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Pittinsky, T. L., Shih, M., & Ambady, N. (2000). Will a category cue affect you? Category cues, positive stereotypes and reviewer recall for applicants. *Social Psychology of Education, 4,* 53–65.

Porter, J. & Washington, R. (1993). Minority identity and self-esteem. *Annual Review of Sociology, 19,* 139-161.

Rowe, M.P. (1990). Barriers to equality: the power of subtle discrimination to maintain unequal opportunity. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal, 3*(2), 153-163.

Sandhu, D.S. (1997). Psychocultural profiles of Asian and Pacific Islander Americans: Implications for counseling and psychotherapy. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling And Development, 25* (1), 7-22.

Salvatore, J., & Shelton, J.N. (2007). Cognitive costs of exposure to racial prejudice. *Psychological Science, 18*(9), 810-815.

Sears, D. O. (1988). Symbolic racism. In P.A. Katz & D.A. Taylor (Eds.), *Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy* (pp. 53-84). New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Sears, D. O. & Henry, P. J. (2003). The origins of symbolic racism. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 85*(2), 259-275.

Sodowsky, G. R., Lai, E. W. M., & Plake, B. S. (1991). Moderating effects of sociocultural variables on acculturation attitudes of Hispanics and Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 70*(1), 194-204.

Solórzano, D., Ceja, M., Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of Black American college students. *The Journal of Negro Education, 69 (1/2)*, 60-73.

Stallworth, L.E., McPherson, T., & Rute, L. (2001). Discrimination in the workplace: How meditation can help. *Dispute Resolution Journal, 56*(1), 35-44, 83-87.

Steele, C.M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist, 52*(6), 613-629.

Stevens, J. (1996). *Applied multivariate statistics for the social sciences* (3rd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Sue, D.W. (2003). *Overcoming our racism: The journey to liberation*. CA: Jossey-Bass.

Sue, D.W., Bucceri, J.M., Lin, A.I., Nadal, K.L., & Torino, G.C. (2007). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*(1), 72-81.

Sue, D.W., Capodilupo, C.M., & Holder, A.M. (2008). Racial microaggressions in the life experience of African Americans. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 39(3), 329-336.

Sue, D.W., Capodilupo, C.M., Torino, G.C., Bucceri, J.M., Holder, A., Nadal, K.L. & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *The American Psychologist, 62*(4), 271-286.

Sue, D.W., Lin, A.I., & Rivera, D.P. (2009). Microaggressions in the workplace: Manifestation and impact. In Jean L. Chin (Ed), *Diversity in Mind and in Action, Volume II: Disparities and Competence* (pp. 157-172). Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Sue, D.W., Lin, A.I., Torino, G.C., Rivera, D.P., & Capodilupo, C.M. (2009). Racial microaggressions and difficult dialogues on race in the classroom. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 15*(2), 183-190.

Sue, D.W., Nadal, K.L., Capodilupo, C.M., Lin, A.I., Torino, G.C., & Rivera, D.P. (2008). Racial Microaggressions against Black Americans: Implications for counseling. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 86*(3), 330-338.

Sue, D.W., Rivera, D.P., Capodilupo, C.M., Lin, A.I., & Torino, G.C. (2010). Racial dialogues and White trainee fears: Implications for education and training. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 16*(2), 206-214.

Sue, D.W., Torino, G.C., Capodilupo, C.M., Rivera, D.P., & Lin, A. I. (2009). How White faculty perceive and react to difficult dialogues on race: Implications for education and training. *The Counseling Psychologist, 37(8),* 1090-1115.

Sue, D.W. & Sue, D. (2008). *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Sue, S. (1999). Asian American mental health: What we know and what we don't know. In W.J. Lonner (Ed.), *Merging past, present, and future in cross-cultural psychology: selected papers from the Fourteen Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (pp. 83-89).* Exton, PA: Swets & Zeitlinger.

Swim, J.K., Aikin, K. J., Hall, W. S., & Hunter, B. A. (1995). Sexism and racism: Old-fashioned and modern prejudices. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68*(2), 199-214.

Sun, W. & Starosta, W.J. (2006). Perceptions of minority invisibility among Asian American professionals. The Howard Journal of Communication, 17, 119-142.

Tabachnick, B.G., & Fidell, L.S. (1996). *Using Multivariate Statistics.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Takagi, D. Y. (1992). *The retreat from race: Asian-American admissions and racial politics.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Takaki, R. (1989). *Strangers from a different shore: A history of Asian Americans.* Boston: Little, Brown.

Tang, J. (1993). The career attainment of Caucasians and Asian engineers. *The Sociological Quarterly, 34*(3), 467-496.

Tarman, C. & Sears, D. O. (2005). The conceptualization and measurement of symbolic racism. *The Journal of Politics, 67*(3), 731-761.

Taylor, C. R. & Stern, B. B. (1997). Asian-Americans: Television advertising and the "model minority" stereotype. *Journal of Advertising, 26*(2), 47-61.

Taylor, C.R., & Turner, B.B. (2002). Asian-Americans: Television advertising and the "model minority" stereotype. *Journal of Advertising, 26*(2), 47-61.

Terrell, F., & Terrell, S. (1981). An inventory to measure cultural mistrust among Blacks. *The Western Journal of Black Studies, 5*(3), 180-185.

Tuan, M. (1998). *Forever foreigners or honorary Whites?: The Asian ethnic experience today.* Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Uba, L. (1994). Asian Americans: Personality Patterns, Identity, and Mental Health.

New York: Guildford.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. (1986). *Recent activities against citizens and residents of Asian descent.* Washington, DC: Author.

Utsey, S. O. (1988). Assessing the stressful effects of racism: A review of instrumentation. *Journal of Black Psychology, 24*, 269-288.

Utsey, S. O., Chae, M. H., Brown, C. F., & Kelley, D. (2002). Effect of ethnic group membership on ethnic identity, race-related stress, and quality of life. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 8*(4), 366-377.

Utsey, S. O., Ponterotto, J. G., Reynolds, A. L., & Cancelli, A. A. (2000). Racial discrimination, coping, life satisfaction, and self-esteem among African Americans. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 78*(1), 72-80.

Volpp, L. (2001). "Obnoxious to their very nature": Asian Americans and constitutional citizenship. *Citizenship Studies, 5(*1), 57-71.

Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of Positive and Negative Affect: The PANAS Scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54*(6), 1063-1070.

Williams, D. R., & Chung, A-M. (1996). Racism and health. In R. C. Gibson & J. S. Jackson (Eds.), *Health in Black America*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

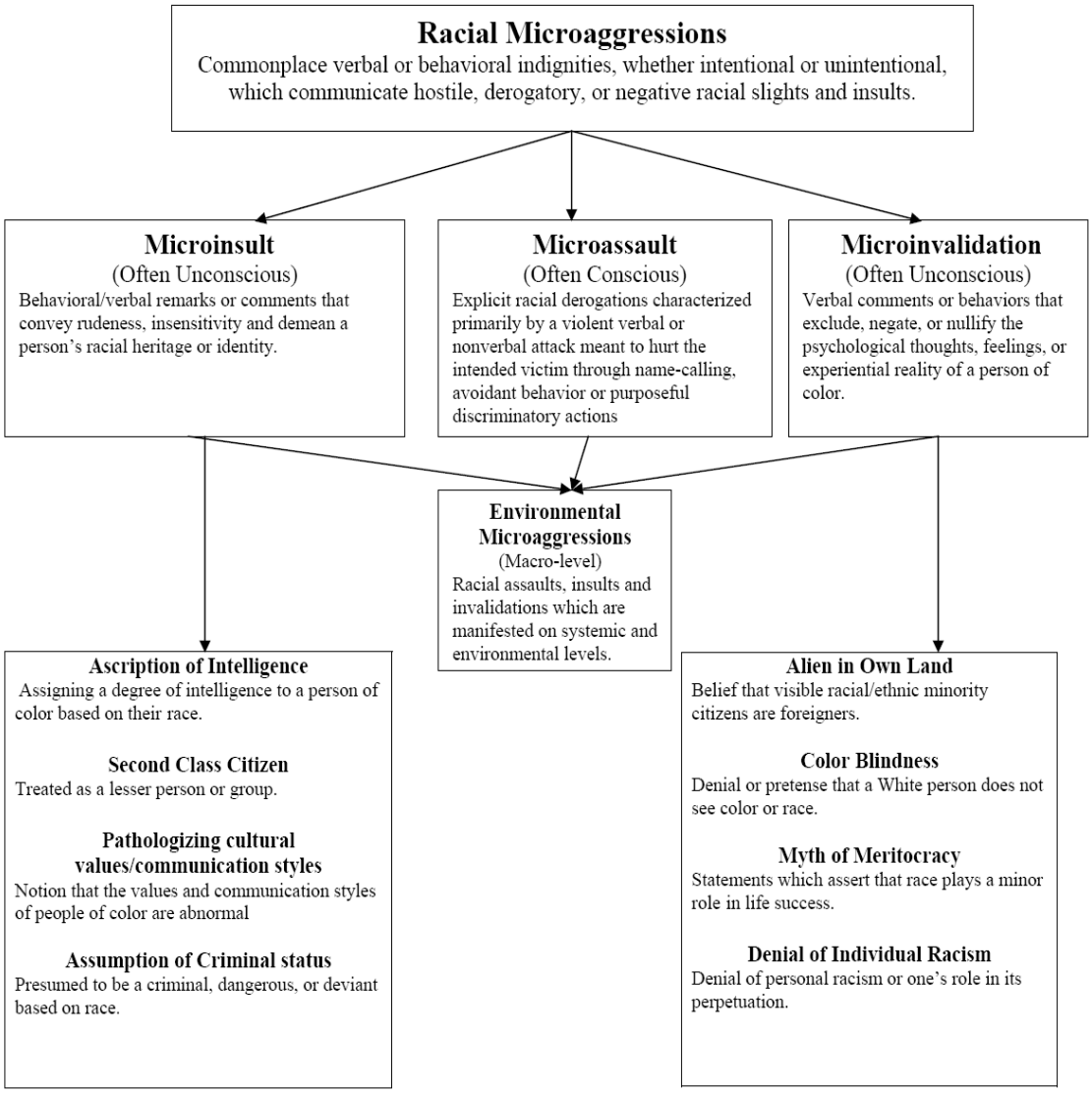
Williams, D.R., Yu, Y., Jackson, J.S., & Anderson, N.B. (1997). Racial differences in physical and mental health: Socio-economic status, stress and discrimination. *Journal of Health Psychology, 2*(3), 335-351.

Wu, F. H. (2002). *Yellow: Race in America Beyond Black and White*. New York: Basic Books.

Ying, Y.-W., Lee, P.A., & Tsai, J.L. (2003). Cultural orientation and racial discrimination: Predictors of coherence in Chinese American young adults. *Journal of Community Psychology, 28*(4), 427-442.

Young, K., & Takeuchi, D. T. (1998). Racism. In L. C. Lee & N. W. S. Zane (Eds.), *Handbook of Asian American psychology* (pp. 401-432). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Figure 1 – Categories and Relationship of Racial Microaggressions



Note. From "Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice," by Sue, D.W., Capodilupo, C.M., Torino, G.C., Bucceri, J.M., Holder, A., Nadal, K.L. & Esquilin, M., 2007, *The American Psychologist, 62*(4), p. 271-286. Copyright 2007 by the American Psychological Association. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 2

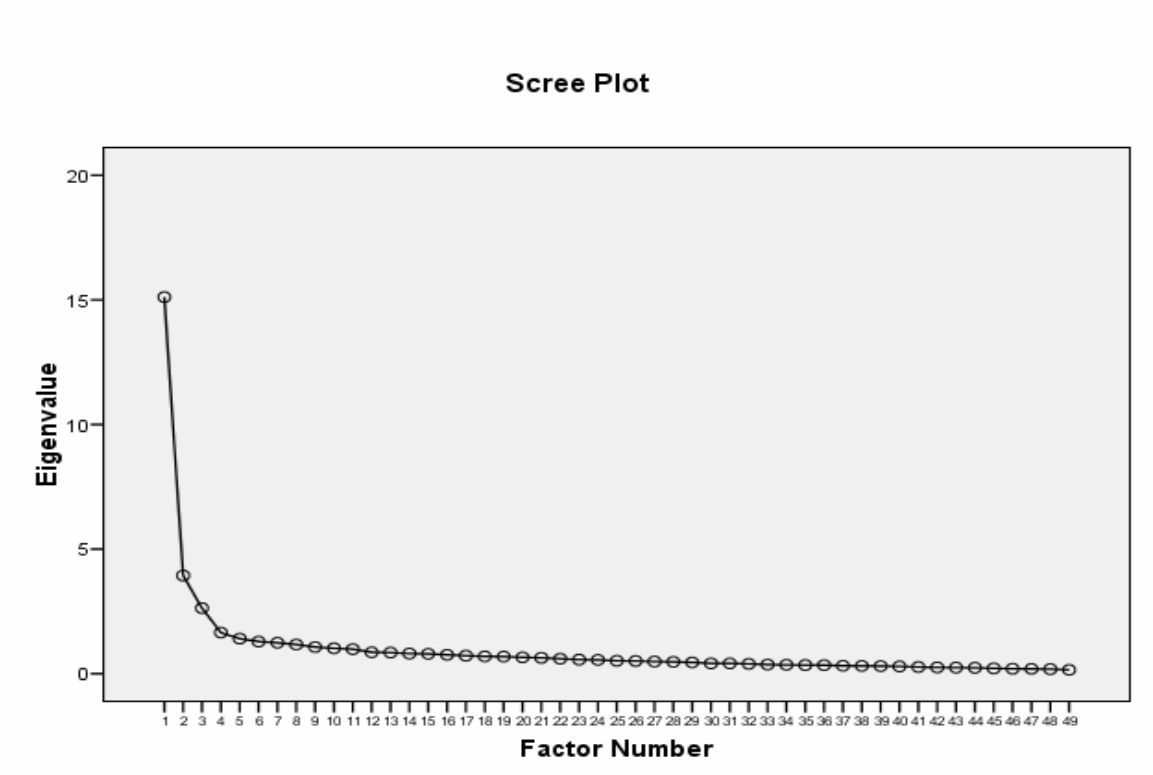

Scree Plot
Eigenvalue
20
15
10
5
0
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49
Factor Number

Table 1

Major Differences between Symbolic Racism, Modern Racism, and Aversive Racism

	Symbolic Racism	Modern Racism	Aversive Racism
Purpose	To explain White attitudes regarding racial issues in politics	To circumvent participant refusal to answer racially motivated (old-fashioned racism) questions	To explain the ambivalent and inconsistent ways that Whites act in racial situations
Origin	Combination of anti-black affect and American conservative values	Egalitarian beliefs, non-racist self-views, and negative feelings toward blacks/racial issues	Anthropological, cognitive, motivational, and socio-cultural processes in American society
Thematic Beliefs	Blacks fail to progress because of: 1)unwillingness to work hard, 2)demanding too much too soon, 3)no longer face discrimination in today's society, 4)have gotten more than they deserve	1)discrimination against Blacks no longer exists, 2)Blacks are unreasonably demanding, 3)Blacks are demanding too hard and too fast, 4)gains/attention are undeserved 5)1-4 are empirical facts, 6)blatant racism is bad	N/A
Affect Toward Blacks	Hostility or hate	Hostility or hate	Unconscious uneasiness, discomfort, fear, disgust
Behaviors	N/A	Ambivalent behaviors, depending on situation	Ambivalent and avoidant behaviors, preference for Whites, relative derogation of others
Population	Political conservatives	Political conservatives	Educated, political liberals
Rationale	If the civil rights era has ended discirmination for blacks, then continuous disadvantage must be due to their own laziness, so demands are unreasonable, and undeserving of any gains made	If American society is fair and equal, and the social climate appears more racially accepting, then explicitly negative racial attitudes/beliefs must be inhibited because it will generate attributions of prejudice from others	If American society is fair and equal, and the social climate appears more racially accepting, then explicitly negative racial attitudes/beliefs must be inhibited because it will generate attributions of prejudice from others
Implications	For racial policy preferences (i.e., affirmative action, busing) and voting behavior (i.e., for Black political candidates)	For ambiguous situations where norms are unclear	For ambiguous situations, where nonracial justifications are present and clear normative guidelines are not; For overcompensating behaviors in racially biased situations

Table 2a

Examining Modern Racism Scale within the Racial Microaggressions Framework

MICROASSAULTS	MICROINSULTS	MICRO-INVALIDATIONS	RATIONALE
Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve	Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve	N/A	*Microassaults:* Deliberate and conscious message and delivery
			Microinsults: Rude and insensitative statements that demeans the heritage of Black Americans
Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve	Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve	N/A	*Microassaults:* Deliberate and conscious message and delivery
			Microinsults: Rude and insensitative statements that demeans the heritage of Black Americans
Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights	Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights	N/A	*Microassaults:* Deliberate and conscious message and delivery
			Microinsults: Rude and insensitative statements that demeans the heritage of Black Americans
Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted	Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted	N/A	*Microassaults:* Deliberate and conscious message and delivery
			Microinsults: Rude and insensitative statements that demeans the heritage of Black Americans
N/A	N/A	It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America	Microinvalidations: Readily debatable by Whites as innocent and harmless; negate the racial reality of blacks
N/A	N/A	Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States	Microinvalidations: Readily debatable by Whites as innocent and harmless; negate the racial reality of blacks

Table 2b

Examining Symbolic Racism Scale within the Racial Microaggression Framework

MICROASSAULTS	MICROINSULTS	MICRO-INVALIDATIONS	RATIONALE
"Excessive Demands": Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights	"Excessive Demands": Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights	N/A	*Microassaults:* Intentional, offensive
			Microinsults: Ignorant view of racial heritage of blacks in America
"Undeserved Advantage": Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve	"Undeserved Advantage": Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve	N/A	N/A
N/A	N/A	"Work ethic and responsibility for outcomes": It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder, they could be just as well off as Whites	*Microinvalidations:* myth of meritocracy

Table 3

Common Asian Stereotypes in Literature and Racial Microaggressive Themes in Sue, Bucceri et al., (2007)

Asian Stereotype	**Supporting Publications**	**Racial Microaggressive Themes in Sue, Bucceri et al., (2007)**
Model minority	Cabezas & Kawaguchi, 1988; Min, 1995; Nee & Sanders, 1985; Osajima, 1988; Pittinsky, Shih & Ambady, 2000; Sue & Okazaki, 1990; Takaki, 1989; Tuan, 1998	Ascription of intelligence; Denial of racial reality
Second-class citizen	Devos & Banaji, 2005; Kawai, 2005; Taylor & Stern, 1997; Volpp, 2001	Second-class citizenship
Yellow peril/Perpetual foreigner	Kitano & Daniels, 1988; Lee, 2000; Lott, 1998; Lyman, 2000; Tuan, 1998; Wu, 2002	Alien in own land
All Asians are alike	Hurh & Kim, 1989; Takaki, 1989; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1986	Invalidation of interethnic differences
Invisibility	Park, 2000; Sun & Starosta, 2006; Tuan, 1998; Volpp, 2001	Invisibility
Sexualization of Asian women	Espiritu, 1997; Park, 2000	Exoticization of Asian women
Desexualization of Asian men	*Espiritu, 1997; Park, 2000*	*Pathologizing cultural values/communication styles*

Table 4

Demographic Characteristics of Expert Reviewers

	Reviewer 1	**Reviewer 2**	**Reviewer 3**	**Reviewer 4**	**Reviewer 5**
Age Group	30's	30's	60's	40's	30's
Gender	Female	Male	Male	Male	Male
Ethnicity	Chinese American	Chinese American	Japanese American	Korean American	Korean American
Education	Community Psychology	Counseling Psychology	Clinical Psychology	Clinical/ Counseling/ School Psychology	Counseling Psychology
Degree	Ph.D.	Ph.D.	Ph.D.	Ph.D.	Ph.D.
Place of Employment	Fordham University	University of La Verne	California State Polytechnic University, Pomona	University of Hawaii	Arizona State University
Position	Assistant Professor	Assistant Professor	Professor	Professor	Assistant Professor
Relevant Expertise	Researcher in Racism & Mental Health	Co-Developper of AARRSI, Researcher in Asian American Psychology	Researcher in Multicultural Psychology & Asian American Psychology	Co-Developper of AARRSI, Researcher in Asian American Psychology	Researcher in Racism & Asian American Psychology

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics for Sample Demographic and Background Characteristics for Pilot Study (N =49)

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	11	22.4
Female	38	77.6
Ethnicity		
Chinese	21	42.9
East Indian	2	4.1
Filipino	7	14.3
Japanese	1	2.0
Korean	6	12.2
Malaysian	2	4.1
Singaporean	2	4.1
Taiwanese	4	8.2
Vietnamese	1	2.0
Other	3	6.1
Generation		
First	20	40.8
Second	24	49.0
Third	2	4.1
Fourth	3	6.1

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Socio-economic status		
Working	4	8.2
Lower Middle	5	10.2
Middle	26	53.1
Upper Middle	13	26.5
Upper	1	2.0
English Proficiency		
1. Very Poor	0	0
2	0	0
3	4	8.2
4	2	4.1
5. Very Good	43	87.8
	M	SD
Age	30.3	7.41
Years in the U.S. (n = 18)	18.94	17.6

Table 6

AARMS items and Factor Loadings of Pilot Study (N = 49)

Item	Second Class Citizen	Model Minority	Alien in Own Land	Emasculation of Asian Men
Q8 You were not given proper credit for something that you did/said	**.83**	.10	.12	.08
Q128 Someone invalidated you for your collectivistic values	**.79**	.25	-.03	-.04
Q63 You felt invisible, ignored, or unimportant in a group setting.	**.77**	.12	.34	.27
Q50 You felt that speaking up in racial dialogues is an interruption.	**.74**	.03	.20	-.20
Q33 You were not given equal attention when you go out with a group of non-Asian friends.	**.73**	.17	.26	.10
Q159 You felt compelled to work harder or do extra work to be on the same level as other people.	**.71**	.08	.25	.17
Q118 You felt compelled to work harder or do extra work to be on the same level as other people.	**.71**	.04	.22	-.03
Q113 You felt singled out or treated differently because of your race.	**.70**	.24	.27	.28
Q132 You received the message that White culture is the right/better way.	**.69**	.14	.25	.11
Q143 Someone assumed that you are quiet though you speak as often as the next person.	**.62**	.21	.21	.15
Q133 You did not defend yourself when made fun of for fear of safety or repercussions.	**.57**	.31	.22	.28
Q116 You were made to feel that you represent “cultural diversity.”	**.54**	.31	.32	.24
Q2 You were asked to wait longer for a table in restaurants.	**.53**	.09	.16	.20
Q72 Asian countries were over-romanticized in your presence.	**.48**	.29	.17	.35
Q55 You were given the message that Asians are poor with using words.	**.44**	.18	.20	.14
Q11 You were given the message that you	**.42**	-.16	.18	.06

were "not American enough."				
Q138 Someone assumed that you are smart.	.06	**.85**	.14	.10
Q67 Someone assumed that you study hard (or studied hard when you were a student).	.18	**.83**	.20	.15
Q127 Someone assumed that you are really good at math.	.01	**.81**	.21	.18
Q157 It was assumed that you are a hard-worker.	.31	**.79**	.09	.09
Q21 Someone assumed that you are successful.	.19	**.76**	.19	.12
Q20 You received the message that you are not a racial minority.	.31	**.69**	-.14	.19
Q154 You were assumed that you eat egg rolls/chow mein/kim chi/curry everyday.	.07	**.68**	.15	.03
Q65 You encountered people that cannot distinguish between different Asian ethnicities.	.01	**.68**	.20	.16
150 You were assumed to have the ability to speak an Asian language.	.24	**.66**	.22	.06
Q107 You were asked whether you are Chinese, Japanese, or Korean.	.12	**.65**	.22	.03
Q82 Someone made reference to "Asian invasion" in your presence.	.12	**.58**	-.09	.38
Q109 You were asked if your last name is (a common Asian name) (e.g. "Kim", "Chen", "Lee", "Tran", etc.).	.00	**.54**	.05	.29
Q29 Someone told you that he/she does not see skin color when they interact with others.	.35	**.51**	.17	.30
Q136 You were considered to be part of the White group.	.06	**.48**	.15	-.02
Q38 You encountered others treating you as if you do not speak English (e.g., speaking slowly or loudly at you).	.26	.26	**.72**	.29
Q13 You felt singled out or treated differently because of your "foreign-sounding" name.	.29	.01	**.68**	-.01
Q1 It was assumed that you have not mastered the English language (i.e., your English needs correction or your writing needs more work).	.27	-.06	**.67**	.00
Q18 With regards to your name, you were asked, "What does it mean?"	.29	.27	**.66**	-.07
Q19 You were assumed to be a tourist	.35	.23	**.65**	.13

from another country.				
Q91 You were asked, “Were you born here?”	.09	.35	**.65**	.00
Q111 You were told that you speak “good English.”	.10	.11	**.65**	.04
149 You were asked, “Did you grow up here?”	.06	.34	**.62**	.03
Q96 You were asked, “When are you going back to your country?”	.26	.13	**.61**	.01
Q134 Others made fun of your name.	.18	.08	**.60**	.30
Q47 Someone assumed that you were not born in the United States.	.26	.12	**.56**	.18
Q88 You encountered people that are ignorant of Asian countries.	.37	.16	**.51**	.26
Q79 Someone assumed that you are a Buddhist/Hindu/Muslim or would be knowledgeable of Buddhism.	.29	.22	**.41**	.04
Q110 You heard someone suggesting that Asian men are unattractive.	.04	.24	.15	**.87**
Q135 You heard someone emasculating Asian men.	.07	.09	.15	**.87**
Q27 You heard someone accusing Asian men of not being “real men.”	.21	.17	.00	**.84**
Q108 You heard someone suggesting that Asian men are sexually impotent.	.05	.12	.18	**.83**
Q77 You heard someone feminizing Asian men.	.29	.29	-.11	**.82**
Q75 Someone stereotyped Asians as freaks in bed.	.29	.12	.14	**.55**

Table 7

*Descriptive Statistics for Composite Scores for the Pilot Study (*N = *49)*

Scale	# Items	Min.	Max.	M	SD	α
1	16	1.00	4.56	2.14	.82	.93
2	14	1.21	5.00	2.94	.97	.93
3	13	1.08	4.46	2.36	.76	.90
4	6	1.00	5.33	2.19	1.06	.92

Table 8

*Descriptive Statistics for Sample Demographic and Background Characteristics for Exploratory Study (*N = *347)*

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	115	33.1
Female	232	66.9
Ethnicity		
Chinese	153	44.1
Korean	52	15.0
Taiwanese	49	14.1
Filipino	18	5.2
Japanese	18	5.2
Other	18	5.2
Vietnamese	17	4.9
East Indian	15	4.3
Singaporean	3	.9
Thai	2	.6
Indonesian	1	.3
Mongolian	1	.3
Generation		
First	150	43.2
Second	167	48.1
Third	19	5.5
Fourth	8	2.3
Fifth or more	3	.9

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Socio-economic status		
Working	31	8.9
Lower Middle	27	7.8
Middle	173	49.9
Upper Middle	104	30.0
Upper	12	3.5
English Proficiency		
1. Very Poor	1	.3
2		
3	16	4.6
4	43	12.4
5. Very Good	287	82.7
	M	SD
Age	31.08	10.81
Years in the U.S. (n = 141)	18.94	9.69

Table 9

AARMS items and Factor Loadings of Exploratory Study (N = 347)

Item	Asian Inferior Status	Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes	Assumptions of Model Minority	Alien in Own Land
017 You felt invisible, ignored, or unimportant in a group setting.	**.84**	-.01	-.05	-.07
033 You felt singled out or treated differently because of your race.	**.67**	.12	-.03	.03
013 You encountered others treating you as if you do not speak English (e.g., speaking slowly or loudly at you).	**.67**	-.07	-.18	.26
004 You were given the message that you were "not American enough."	**.64**	.00	-.13	.20
003 You were not given proper credit for something that you did/said.	**.78**	-.04	-.05	-.09
012 You were not given equal attention when you go out with a group of non-Asian friends.	**.75**	.03	-.01	-.15
038 You received the message that White culture is the right/better way.	**.56**	.20	.15	-.10
005 You felt singled out or treated differently because of your "foreign-sounding" name.	**.63**	-.04	-.08	.13
037 Someone invalidated you for your collectivistic values.	**.59**	.01	.24	-.13
002 You were asked to wait longer for a table in restaurants.	**.73**	.07	-.17	-.12
015 You felt that speaking up in racial dialogues is an interruption.	**.58**	-.04	.01	.06
039 You did not defend yourself when made fun of for fear of safety or repercussions.	**.59**	-.06	.11	-.05
035 You were implicitly given the message that being quiet is wrong.	**.59**	.04	.24	-.23
049 You felt compelled to work harder or do extra work to be on the same level as other people.	**.43**	.07	.29	-.02
016 You were given the message that Asians are poor with using words.	**.52**	.14	-.06	.04
044 Someone assumed that you are quiet	**.48**	-.03	.29	-.05

though you speak as often as the next person.				
034 You were made to feel that you represent "cultural diversity."	**.42**	-.02	.14	.16
007 You were assumed to be a tourist from another country.	**.52**	-.07	.01	.12
020 Asian countries were over-romanticized in your presence.	.26	.21	.18	.18
027 You were asked, "When are you going back to your country?"	.35	.07	-.10	.36
001 It was assumed that you have not mastered the English language (i.e., your English needs correction or your writing needs more work).	**.53**	-.12	-.22	.23
040 Others made fun of your name.	.25	.15	.08	.13
022 You heard someone feminizing Asian men.	-.06	**.85**	-.06	.12
029 You heard someone suggesting that Asian men are sexually impotent.	-.06	**.84**	.00	-.02
031 You heard someone suggesting that Asian men are unattractive.	-.04	**.83**	-.01	-.02
041 You heard someone emasculating Asian men.	.00	**.83**	-.04	-.08
010 You heard someone accusing Asian men of not being "real men."	.06	**.75**	-.07	-.01
021 Someone stereotyped Asians as freaks in bed.	.09	**.53**	-.01	.04
024 Someone made reference to "Asian invasion" in your presence.	-.05	.39	.18	.13
011 Someone told you that he/she does not see skin color when they interact with others.	.17	.28	.19	-.04
030 You were asked if your last name is (a common Asian name) (e.g. "Kim", "Chen", "Lee", "Tran", etc.).	-.10	.32	.05	.29
043 Someone assumed that you are smart.	-.07	-.05	**.90**	-.01
048 It was assumed that you are a hard-worker.	-.02	-.15	**.81**	.17
019 Someone assumed that you study hard (or studied hard when you were a student).	-.11	-.04	**.74**	.18
036 Someone assumed that you are really good at math.	-.02	.00	**.66**	.15
009 Someone assumed that you are successful.	-.02	.07	**.65**	-.04

008 You received the message that you are not a racial minority.	.14	.14	.29	-.10
042 You were considered to be part of the White group.	-.11	.09	.28	.10
045 You were asked, "Did you grow up here?"	-.02	.00	.06	**.72**
026 You were asked, "Were you born here?"	-.09	.10	.02	**.73**
046 You were assumed to have the ability to speak an Asian language.	.06	-.12	.26	**.50**
018 You encountered people that cannot distinguish between different Asian ethnicities.	.02	.20	.12	**.43**
025 You encountered people that are ignorant of Asian countries.	.15	.20	.07	**.38**
047 You were assumed that you eat egg rolls/chow mein/kim chi/curry everyday.	.08	.08	.16	**.41**
028 You were asked whether you are Chinese, Japanese, or Korean.	-.21	.10	.15	**.56**
023 Someone assumed that you are a Buddhist/Hindu/Muslim or would be knowledgeable of Buddhism.	.26	.05	.07	**.35**
014 Someone assumed that you were not born in the United States.	.37	-.21	-.09	**.50**
032 You were told that you speak "good English."	.29	-.13	.03	**.37**
006 With regards to your name, you were asked, "What does it mean?"	.16	-.07	.01	**.31**

Table 10

*Descriptive Statistics for Composite Scores for the Exploratory Study (*N = *347)*

Scale	# Items	Min.	Max.	M	SD	α
Asian Inferior Status	19	1.00	5.50	2.37	.79	.92
Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes	6	1.00	5.50	2.16	.99	.89
Assumptions of Model Minority	5	1.00	6.00	3.71	1.13	.88
Alien in Own Land	11	1.00	5.64	3.11	.86	.86

Table 11

*Correlations Among AARMS Subscales (*N = *347)*

Scale	Asian Inferior Status	Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes	Assumptions of Model Minority	Alien in Own Land
Asian Inferior Status	1.00			
Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes	.46*	1.00		
Assumptions of Model Minority	.46*	.55*	1.00	
Alien in Own Land	.65*	.44*	.62*	1.00

*p<.001.

Table 12

*AARMS Subscales Scores as a Function of Generation (*N = *347)*

	First Generation (n = 150)		Second Generation & Above (n = 197)		*t*	*df*	*p*
Scale	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*			
Asian Inferior Status	2.33	.74	2.40	.83	-.79	345	.431
Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes	1.99	.87	2.29	1.05	-2.94	345	.004
Assumptions of Model Minority	3.57	1.15	3.81	1.10	-1.94	345	.053
Alien in Own Land	3.13	.84	3.09	.88	.45	345	.651

Table 13

*Descriptive Statistics for Sample Demographic and Background Characteristics in the Validation Study (*N = *158)*

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	47	29.7
Female	111	70.3
Ethnicity		
Cambodian	1	.6
Chinese	58	36.7
East Indian	11	7.0
Filipino	11	7.0
Japanese	10	6.3
Korean	24	15.2
Lebanese	1	.6
Malaysian	1	.6
Native Hawaiian	1	.6
Taiwanese	21	13.3
Thai	1	.6
Vietnamese	10	6.3
Other	8	5.1
Generation		
First	49	31.0
Second	101	63.9
Third	4	2.5
Fourth	2	1.3
Fifth or more	2	1.3

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Socio-economic status		
Working	21	13.3
Lower Middle	29	18.4
Middle	68	43.0
Upper Middle	39	24.7
Upper	1	.6
English language skills		
1	0	0.0
2	1	.6
3	2	1.3
4	18	11.4
5	137	86.7
	M	*SD*
Age	23.90	6.60
Years in the U.S. ($n = 47$)	14.19	9.03

Table 14

*Descriptive Statistics for Composite Scores for the Validation Study (*N = *158)*

Scale	# Items	Min.	Max.	*M*	*SD*	α
Asian American Racial Microaggressions Scales (AARMS)						
Asian Inferior Status	19	1.00	4.44	2.44	.74	.89
Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes	6	1.00	5.50	2.53	1.05	.87
Assumptions of Model Minority	5	1.40	6.00	3.96	1.11	.89
Alien in Own Land	11	1.27	5.09	3.17	.85	.82
Total	41	1.28	4.93	2.85	.68	.93
Asian American Racism Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI)						
Total	29	1.24	5.00	2.55	.75	.93
Social-Historical	14	1.29	4.93	2.89	.87	.88
General	8	1.00	5.00	1.99	.74	.81
Perpetual Foreigner	7	1.14	5.00	2.43	.84	.80
Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS)	5	1.00	7.00	4.60	1.38	.90
Positive And Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS)						
Negative Affect	10	1.00	4.10	1.70	.67	.89
Positive Affect	10	1.00	5.00	2.93	.82	.85

Table 15

*Correlations Among AARMS Subscales in the Validation Study (*N = *158)*

Scale	Asian Inferior Status	Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes	Assumptions of Model Minority	Alien in Own Land	Total AARMS
Asian Inferior Status	1.00				
Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes	.43*	1.00			
Assumptions of Model Minority	.34*	.43*	1.00		
Alien in Own Land	.58*	.42*	.56*	1.00	
Total AARMS	.86*	.67*	.66*	.84*	1.00

*p<.001.

Table 16

*Correlations Between AARMS Subscales and Validity Composite Scores in the Validation Sample (*N = *158)*

Scale	Asian Inferior Status	Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes	Assumptions of Model Minority	Alien in Own Land	Total AARMS
AARRSI Total	.61***	.45***	.27***	.52***	.64***
AARRSI Social-Historical	.58***	.45***	.27***	.46***	.60***
AARRSI General	.49***	.40***	.23**	.40***	.52***
AARRSI Perpetual Foreigner	.55***	.34***	.27***	.56***	.60***
SWLS	-.15	-.09	-.01	.00	-.10
PANAS Negative Affect	.35***	.15	.16*	.14	.29***
PANAS Positive Affect	.03	-.02	.18*	.14	.09

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

AARMS = Asian American Racial Microaggressions Scale

AARRSI = Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory

SWLS = Satisfaction With Life Scale

PANAS = Positive And Negative Affect Scale

Table 17

*Descriptive Statistics for Sample Demographic and Background Characteristics for Reliability Study (*N *=59)*

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	15	25.4
Female	44	74.6
Ethnicity		
Cambodian	1	1.7
Chinese	22	37.3
East Indian	5	8.5
Filipino	3	5.1
Japanese	4	6.8
Korean	7	11.9
Lebanese	1	1.7
Taiwanese	10	16.9
Vietnamese	4	6.8
Other	2	3.4
Generation		
First	23	39.0
Second	34	57.6
Third	1	1.7
Fourth	1	1.7

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Socio-economic status		
Working	7	11.9
Lower Middle	15	25.4
Middle	22	37.3
Upper Middle	15	25.4
Upper	0	0.0
English Proficiency		
1. Very Poor	0	0
2	0	0
3	0	0.0
4	9	15.3
5. Very Good	50	84.7
	M	SD
Age	23.69	6.06
Years in the U.S. (n = 25)	14.02	8.11

Table 18

*Test-Retest Correlations Among AARMS Subscales in the Reliability Study (*N = *59)*

Scale	Asian Inferior Status	Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes	Assumptions of Model Minority	Alien in Own Land	Total AARMS
Asian Inferior Status	.92*				
Aberrant Sexual Stereotypes		.81*			
Assumptions of Model Minority			.78*		
Alien in Own Land				.86*	
Total AARMS					.90*

*p<.001.

Appendix A

Demographic Questionnaire

Age:

Gender: Male Female

Ethnicity:

Cambodian	Chinese	East Indian	Filipino
Indonesian	Iranian	Iraqi	Israeli
Japanese	Jordanian	Korean	Kuwaiti
Laotian	Lebanese	Malaysian	Mongolian
Native Hawaiian	Saudi	Singaporean	Syrian
Taiwanese	Thai	Vietnamese	

Other (please specify):

Generational Status:

First generation (Born outside of U.S.)

Second generation (Born in U.S.)

Third generation (Born in U.S., parents born in U.S.)

Fourth generation (Born in U.S., grandparents born in U.S.)

Fifth generation (Born in U.S., great-grandparents born in U.S.)

Please specify years spent in the U.S. if you are first generation (born outside of U.S.)

Socioeconomic Status:

Working Class	Lower Middle Class	Middle Class
Upper Middle Class	Upper Class	

What is your present level of English fluency (1-5):

1- Very Poor
2-
3-
4-
5- Very Good

Appendix B

AARMS-Initial

We are interested in your daily experiences with race. As you answer each question, please think about your experience in the United States. For each question, please choose the number that best describes your frequency of experience.

Please use the following numbers:

1 This has never happened to you
2 This has happened to you once in awhile
3 This has happened to you sometimes
4 This has happened to you often
5 This has happened to you most of the time
6 This has happened to you almost all of the time

1 It was assumed that you have not mastered the English language (i.e., your English needs correction or your writing needs more work).
2 You were asked to wait longer for a table in restaurants.
3 You were given the message that White people have priority over non-Whites.
4 Someone stereotyped you as a poor tipper.
5 You were asked, "What are you?"
6 You were lumped with other Asian ethnic groups rather than the one you belong to.
7 You were not given quality (e.g., lack of warmth and friendliness) service in a restaurant.
8 You were not given proper credit for something that you did/said.
9 Someone assumed that you are serious.
10 You were told that you look like a well-known Asian celebrity.
11 You were given the message that you were "not American enough."
12 You were given the message that Asian countries are Third World countries.
13 You felt singled out or treated differently because of your "foreign-sounding" name.
14 You were told, "Oh, you're (your ethnicity), my neighbor is (your ethnicity).
15 You were told that Asians do not experience discrimination.
16 You were given the message that you don't belong because you are (your ethnicity).
17 You were told that you have a learning disability.
18 With regards to your name, you were asked, "What does it mean?"
19 You were assumed to be a tourist from another country.
20 You received the message that you are not a racial minority.
21 Someone assumed that you are successful.
22 You heard someone assuming Asian men to be sexually undesirable.
23 Someone suggested to you that you can't succeed.
24 You heard someone assuming that Asians can't dance.
25 You were rudely treated by a stranger.
26 Someone downplayed your discriminatory experiences.
27 You heard someone accusing Asian men of not being "real men."
28 Someone assumed that you are not good at verbally expressing yourself.
29 Someone told you that he/she does not see skin color when they interact with others.
30 You heard someone stereotyping Asians as domestic servants.

31 Someone assumed that you are not assertive.
32 Someone assumed that you like to stay at home.
33 You were not given equal attention when you go out with a group of non-Asian friends.
34 You were told that you are not a valid recipient of affirmative action.
35 You were stared at in public.
36 Someone assumed that you do not drink.
37 Your hesitation to speak up was seen as a sign of weakness.
38 You encountered others treating you as if you do not speak English (e.g., speaking slowly or loudly at you).
39 Strangers were excessively interested in your Asian background.
40 Strangers tried to speak to you in an Asian language.
41 You felt devalued for speaking an Asian language.
42 You were told, "Oh, you're (your ethnicity), I worked with (your ethnicity) people".
43 You were asked, "Where are you from?" or "Where are you really from?"
44 Someone assumed that you are really good in science.
45 Someone told you that Asians do not have racial problems.
46 Someone assumed that you are submissive.
47 Someone assumed that you were not born in the United States.
48 You heard someone stereotyping Asian women as nurses.
49 Someone told you that he/she knows someone who is of your ethnic background (e.g., "my ex-girlfriend was Chinese" or "my neighbor was Japanese").
50 You felt that speaking up in racial dialogues is an interruption.
51 Someone assumed that you don't speak English because you tend to keep quiet.
52 Someone suggested that you are a "welfare sponge."
53 Someone assumed that you do not have leadership qualities.
54 Someone devalued you for eating or enjoying Asian food.
55 You were given the message that Asians are poor with using words.
56 You were punished as if you did something wrong though you did nothing wrong.
57 You heard someone assuming Asian men to have small penises.
58 Someone assumed you to be a terrorist.
59 Someone assumed that you do not smoke.
60 Someone assumed that you have a mystical spirituality.
61 You had to prove that you "speak good English" before you were accepted or given good service.
62 Someone showed sexual interest to you because of your race.
63 You felt invisible, ignored, or unimportant in a group setting.
64 You were made fun of by using made-up language (e.g., ching-chong-ching).
65 You encountered people that cannot distinguish between different Asian ethnicities.
66 You received the message that Asians are just like White people.
67 Someone assumed that you study hard (or studied hard when you were a student).
68 You were told, "Oh, you're (your ethnicity), I love (your ethnicity) food.
69 You were asked, "What kind of name is that?" regarding your name.
70 Someone assumed that you will not cause trouble.
71 Someone invalidated you for your emphasis on family.
72 Asian countries were over-romanticized in your presence.
73 You felt pigeonholed because of your ethnicity/race.
74 Someone assumed that you only did well in school because your parents pressured you to succeed.
75 Someone stereotyped Asians as freaks in bed.
76 Someone assumed that you (or your family) own a grocery store.
77 You heard someone feminizing Asian men.
78 You were looked down upon for being concerned with your racial/ethnic group.
79 Someone assumed that you are a Buddhist/Hindu/Muslim or would be knowledgeable of Buddhism.
80 You were made to feel more like an object than a human being (e.g., treated with less courtesy than what is considered normal).

81 Someone suggested to you that Asians are nerdy.
82 Someone made reference to "Asian invasion" in your presence.
83 Someone assumed that you are unable to express feelings.
84 Someone assumed that you are from Mexico.
85 Someone assumed you to be great a spouse/partner.
86 Someone assumed that you are not intellectual.
87 You were given the message that your cultural values are weird.
88 You encountered people that are ignorant of Asian countries.
89 You were treated like a child.
90 You were told that you are being oversensitive or overreacting to racial issues.
91 You were asked, "Were you born here?"
92 You heard someone stereotyping Asian women as women who would never give up their virginity.
93 You were complimented for your "smooth" or "beautiful" skin.
94 You were passed over for promotions.
95 Someone assumed you to have the same qualities as their Asian ethnic friends/coworkers.
96 You were asked, "When are you going back to your country?"
97 You felt devalued for using an Asian ethnic utensil.
98 Someone looked down on you.
99 Someone assumed that you are into indigenous methods of healing (i.e., Chinese herbs, acupuncture).
100 You were given substandard service at restaurants.
101 You were viewed as exotic.
102 You were mistaken for someone in your race/ethnic group.
103 You heard someone stereotyping Asian women as mail-order brides.
104 You were put down for not "knowing the English language well enough."
105 You were told, "Go back to where you came from."
106 You were assumed to treat your girl/boyfriends badly.
107 You were asked whether you are Chinese, Japanese, or Korean.
108 You heard someone suggesting that Asian men are sexually impotent.
109 You were asked if your last name is (a common Asian name) (e.g. "Kim", "Chen", "Lee", "Tran", etc.).
110 You heard someone suggesting that Asian men are unattractive.
111 You were told that you speak "good English."
112 Someone assumed you to be poor.
113 You felt singled out or treated differently because of your race.
114 Someone assumed that you are a stingy person.
115 You encountered a lack of understanding when it comes to you taking a day off for a holiday that is not celebrated by the mainstream.
116 You were made to feel that you represent "cultural diversity."
117 Someone assumed that you (or your family) work at a gas station.
118 You were implicitly given the message that being quiet is wrong.
119 Someone assumed that you are not Asian.
120 You were passed over for a job or promotion in favor of your White friends/co-workers.
121 Someone stereotyped you as a trophy or an accessory.
122 You had men/women with Asian fetishes express interest in you.
123 You heard someone assuming Asian men to be sexual predators.
124 Someone assumed that you (or your family) drives a taxi.
125 You were given the message that Asians have poor interpersonal skills.
126 Someone assumed that you are passive.
127 Someone assumed that you are really good at math.
128 Someone invalidated you for your collectivistic values.
129 You were expected to be an expert on your Asian ethnic culture.
130 You heard someone assuming Asian men to be joksters.

131 When there were Asians in the room, it was assumed that you are with them.
132 You received the message that White culture is the right/better way.
133 You did not defend yourself when made fun of for fear of safety or repercussions.
134 Others made fun of your name.
135 You heard someone emasculating Asian men.
136 You were considered to be part of the White group.
137 You were not given the better tables at restaurants (e.g., taken to a table in the back or near the restroom).
138 Someone assumed that you are smart.
139 You were assumed to have an accent because the listener did not know the word you used.
140 Someone assumed that you (or your family) own a convenience store.
141 You heard someone assuming Asian men to be chauvinistic.
142 Someone discouraged you from taking advanced courses/going for advanced degrees.
143 Someone assumed that you are quiet though you speak as often as the next person.
144 You heard someone called Asian women "doll" or "sweetie."
145 You were given the message that your ethnic culture is inferior to White culture.
146 You were ignored in customer service (e.g., people behind you were served before you).
147 You were called a "Jap", "Chink", or "Gok", "Coolie", "Chinaman", "Dink", "Paki", "Pancake", "Habib", or "Sambo".
148 You heard someone complimenting Asian women for having "silky hair."
149 You were asked, "Did you grow up here?"
150 You were assumed to have the ability to speak an Asian language.
151 You were assumed to be younger than you really are.
152 Others ignored your opinion until a White individual supported it.
153 Someone assumed that you can't speak English because you were heard speaking an Asian language.
154 You were assumed that you eat egg rolls/chow mein/kim chi/curry everyday.
155 You were given the message that your cultural values are wrong.
156 You were accused of gaining what you didn't deserve (e.g., school admission through affirmative action).
157 It was assumed that you are a hard-worker.
158 Someone assumed you to be a criminal.
159 You felt compelled to work harder or do extra work to be on the same level as other people.

Appendix C

AARMS-Modified

We are interested in your daily experiences with race. As you answer each question, please think about your experience in the United States. For each question, please choose the number that best describes your frequency of experience.

Please use the following numbers:

1 This has never happened to you
2 This has happened to you once in awhile
3 This has happened to you sometimes
4 This has happened to you often
5 This has happened to you most of the time
6 This has happened to you almost all of the time

1. It was assumed that you have not mastered the English language (i.e., your English needs correction or your writing needs more work).
2. You were asked to wait longer for a table in restaurants.
3. You were not given proper credit for something that you did/said.
4. You were given the message that you were “not American enough.”
5. You felt singled out or treated differently because of your “foreign-sounding” name.
6. With regards to your name, you were asked, “What does it mean?”
7. You were assumed to be a tourist from another country.
8. You received the message that you are not a racial minority.
9. Someone assumed that you are successful.
10. You heard someone accusing Asian men of not being “real men.”
11. Someone told you that he/she does not see skin color when they interact with others.
12. You were not given equal attention when you go out with a group of non-Asian friends.
13. You encountered others treating you as if you do not speak English (e.g., speaking slowly or loudly at you).
14. Someone assumed that you were not born in the United States.
15. You felt that speaking up in racial dialogues is an interruption.
16. You were given the message that Asians are poor with using words.
17. You felt invisible, ignored, or unimportant in a group setting.
18. You encountered people that cannot distinguish between different Asian ethnicities.
19. Someone assumed that you study hard (or studied hard when you were a student).
20. Asian countries were over-romanticized in your presence.
21. Someone stereotyped Asians as freaks in bed.
22. You heard someone feminizing Asian men.
23. Someone assumed that you are a Buddhist/Hindu/Muslim or would be knowledgeable of Buddhism.
24. Someone made reference to “Asian invasion” in your presence.
25. You encountered people that are ignorant of Asian countries.
26. You were asked, “Were you born here?”
27. You were asked, “When are you going back to your country?”
28. You were asked whether you are Chinese, Japanese, or Korean.
29. You heard someone suggesting that Asian men are sexually impotent.
30. You were asked if your last name is (a common Asian name) (e.g. “Kim”, “Chen”, “Lee”, “Tran”, etc.).

31. You heard someone suggesting that Asian men are unattractive.
32. You were told that you speak “good English.”
33. You felt singled out or treated differently because of your race.
34. You were made to feel that you represent “cultural diversity.”
35. You were implicitly given the message that being quiet is wrong.
36. Someone assumed that you are really good at math.
37. Someone invalidated you for your collectivistic values.
38. You received the message that White culture is the right/better way.
39. You did not defend yourself when made fun of for fear of safety or repercussions.
40. Others made fun of your name.
41.You heard someone emasculating Asian men.
42. You were considered to be part of the White group.
43. Someone assumed that you are smart.
44. Someone assumed that you are quiet though you speak as often as the next person.
45. You were asked, “Did you grow up here?”
46. You were assumed to have the ability to speak an Asian language.
47. You were assumed that you eat egg rolls/chow mein/kim chi/curry everyday.
48. It was assumed that you are a hard-worker.
49. You felt compelled to work harder or do extra work to be on the same level as other people.

Appendix D

AARMS-Final

We are interested in your daily experiences with race. As you answer each question, please think about your experience in the United States. For each question, please choose the number that best describes your frequency of experience.

Please use the following numbers:

1 This has never happened to you
2 This has happened to you once in awhile
3 This has happened to you sometimes
4 This has happened to you often
5 This has happened to you most of the time
6 This has happened to you almost all of the time

1. It was assumed that you have not mastered the English language (i.e., your English needs correction or your writing needs more work).
2. You were asked to wait longer for a table in restaurants.
3. You were not given proper credit for something that you did/said.
4. You were given the message that you were "not American enough."
5. You felt singled out or treated differently because of your "foreign-sounding" name.
6. With regards to your name, you were asked, "What does it mean?"
7. You were assumed to be a tourist from another country.
8. Someone assumed that you are successful.
9. You heard someone accusing Asian men of not being "real men."
10. You were not given equal attention when you go out with a group of non-Asian friends.
11. You encountered others treating you as if you do not speak English (e.g., speaking slowly or loudly at you).
12. Someone assumed that you were not born in the United States.
13. You felt that speaking up in racial dialogues is an interruption.
14. You were given the message that Asians are poor with using words.
15. You felt invisible, ignored, or unimportant in a group setting.
16. You encountered people that cannot distinguish between different Asian ethnicities.
17. Someone assumed that you study hard (or studied hard when you were a student).
18. Someone stereotyped Asians as freaks in bed.
19. You heard someone feminizing Asian men.
20. Someone assumed that you are a Buddhist/Hindu/Muslim or would be knowledgeable of Buddhism.
21. You encountered people that are ignorant of Asian countries.
22. You were asked, "Were you born here?"
23. You were asked whether you are Chinese, Japanese, or Korean.
24. You heard someone suggesting that Asian men are sexually impotent.
25. You heard someone suggesting that Asian men are unattractive.
26. You were told that you speak "good English."
27. You felt singled out or treated differently because of your race.
28. You were made to feel that you represent "cultural diversity."
29. You were implicitly given the message that being quiet is wrong.
30. Someone assumed that you are really good at math.

31. Someone invalidated you for your collectivistic values.
32. You received the message that White culture is the right/better way.
33. You did not defend yourself when made fun of for fear of safety or repercussions.
34.You heard someone emasculating Asian men.
35. Someone assumed that you are smart.
36. Someone assumed that you are quiet though you speak as often as the next person.
37. You were asked, “Did you grow up here?”
38. You were assumed to have the ability to speak an Asian language.
39. You were assumed that you eat egg rolls/chow mein/kim chi/curry everyday.
40. It was assumed that you are a hard-worker.
41. You felt compelled to work harder or do extra work to be on the same level as other people.

Appendix E

Asian American Race-Related Stress Inventory (AARRSI)

Indicate your response by using the following 5-point scale:
1 _ *This event has never happened to me or someone I know*;
2 _ *This event happened but did not bother me*;
3 _ *This event happened and I was slightly bothered*
4 _ *This event happened and I was upset*
5 _ *This event happened and I was extremely upset*.

Socio-Historical Racism
11. You learn that most non-Asian Americans are ignorant of the oppression and racial prejudice Asian Americans have endured in the U.S.
10. You learn that Asian Americans historically were targets of racist actions.
8. You see a TV commercial in which an Asian character speaks bad English and acts subservient to non-Asian characters.
7. You notice that U.S. history books offer no information of the contributions of Asian Americans.
9. You hear about an Asian American government scientist held in solitary confinement for mishandling government documents when his non-Asian coworkers were not punished for the same offence.
13. You learn that, while immigration quotas on Asian peoples were severely restricted until the later half of the 1900s, quotas for European immigrants were not.
4. You notice that Asian characters in American TV shows either speak bad or heavily accented English.
1. You hear about a racially motivated murder of an Asian American man.
5. You notice that in American movies, male Asian leading characters never engage in physical contact (kissing, etc.) with leading female characters even when the plot would seem to call for it.
3. You are told that Asians have assertiveness problems.
14. Someone tells you that it's the Blacks that are the problem, not the Asians.
2. You hear that Asian Americans are not significantly represented in management positions.
25. Someone tells you that Asian Americans are not targets of racism.
12. At a restaurant you notice that a White couple who came in after you is served before you.

General Racism
15. A student you do not know asks you for help in math.
16. Someone tells you that they heard that there is a gene that makes Asians smart.
19. Someone tells you that your Asian American female friend looks just like Connie Chung.
18. Someone assumes that they serve dog meat in Asian restaurants.

22. Someone asks you if you can teach him/her karate.
26. Someone you do not know asks you to help him/her fix his/her computer.
17. Someone asks you if you know his or her Asian friend/coworker/classmate.
6. Someone tells you that the kitchens of Asian families smell and are dirty.

Perpetual Foreigner Racism

27. You are told that "you speak English so well."
29. You are asked where you are really from.
21. Someone asks you if all your friends are Asian Americans.
24. Someone tells you that all Asian people look alike.
28. Someone asks you what your real name is.
20. Someone you do not know speaks slow and loud at you.
23. Someone tells you that "you people are all the same."

Appendix F

Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS-General)

Instruction: This scale consists of a number of words and phrases that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to that word. Indicate to what extent you feel this way right now. Use the following scale to record your answers:

Very Slightly or not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely
1	2	3	4	5

_____ determined	_____ alert	_____ active	_____ attentive
_____ scared	_____ guilty	_____ enthusiastic	_____ afraid
_____ excited	_____ inspired	_____ nervous	_____ interested
_____distressed	_____ strong	_____ jittery	_____ proud
_____ irritable	_____ upset	_____ ashamed	_____ hostile

Appendix G

Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS)

Below are 5 statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding. The 7-point scale is follows:

1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = slightly disagree
4 = neither agree nor disagree
5 = slightly agree
6 = agree
7 = strongly agree

___1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
___2. The conditions of my life are excellent.
___3. I am satisfied with my life.
___4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
___5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.